

## America's unfinished dream

The spirit of '76 was not just a flush of patriotism or a tune on a fife and drum. It was a sense of individual and political freedom rooted in religious convictions that shine through the documents of America's founding. How can the sustaining religious impetus of the Revolutionary years be fittingly honored after two centuries in which the United States has not only contributed greatly to the world's religious thought but has seen a decline of religious observance in American life?

Though a churchmen's meeting on the subject has just been in the news, the question goes beyond formal religion to the moral and ethical values implied or denied by the way Americans live — as churchmen are the first to recognize. And, of course, such a question applies not only to the United States but to all countries where citizens recognize a need to bring national and personal conduct into harmony with bedrock ideals.

Only part of America's answer lies in the bicentennial religious concerts, historical projects, and other celebrations being planned. The use of talents to kindle religious feelings reaches back long before the praise of God as "Infinite Goodness" in a Bunker Hill song popular during the Revolutionary War. The religious impact of bicentennial sacred performances will match the inspiration backstage, onstage, and in the audience.

But the religious sources of American ideals will best be honored through their manifestation in American life — and in individual American lives. To explore this sort of "celebration," American church leaders recently attended a two-day "bicentennial consultation" in Washington. They discussed the quality of today's human thinking and values in a program designed to "stretch thought" for themselves.

All Americans ought to partake of what was described there as the religious community's bicentennial emphasis on "rethinking who we are as a people and examining our ethical and moral values to see where we really want to go."

Such a thrust is in line with what the vicar of Boston's Old North Church said so eloquently when he asked President Ford to light a third lantern to go with the original two, which "led us to two centuries of some progress in reason, in liberty, and in faith — but not enough; to some fulfillment in mind, body, spirit — but not enough; to some gains in thinking, acting, and trusting in freedom — but not enough."

The third lantern was a signal to make the American promise a reality — from a church which, long before 1776, practiced freedom in keeping with the text from Isaiah for its first sermon in 1723: "Mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all people."

Working to make the American promise a reality is one way to ensure that the contributions of America's rich diversity of religion do not become watered down into what churchmen call a "civic religion" — more a soft sentiment of patriotism and vague goodwill than the religious conviction and commitment.

## Torture in Chile

Chile's military government faces growing internal and international pressure to bring a halt to torture and to the other violations of human rights reported by the United Nations, Organization of American States, and other bodies whose representatives have visited Chile.

Recently the presidents of Harvard, MIT, and Brandeis University, along with more than 50 other American academic figures, joined in a statement of concern about rights in Chile: "This is a matter of fundamental decency which affects international public opinion and Chile's relationship with other nations." Since then Roman Catholic authorities in Chile have been drawn into protecting a wounded political victim of torture — and potentially into confrontation with the military over the case. This episode enhances

needed to pursue America's unfinished dream.

This, of course, means freedom for the non-religious as well as the religious. The First Amendment forbids laws establishing religion as well as guarantees the free exercise of it. The Supreme Court, in its recent decisions on education, has continued its firm adherence to this constitutional separation of church and state.

Sheltered by the First Amendment, America itself remains a "house of prayer for all people." In the midst of bicentennial celebrations of virtually everything else that can be traced back 200 years, it would be a sad omission not to remember where the founders placed their fundamental reliance. In the declaration on taking up arms of July 6, 1776, they began by denying that "the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in and an unbounded power over others." A year later, in the Declaration of Independence, they claimed the rights with which all men are "endowed by their Creator." They concluded with "a firm reliance on the Protection of divine Providence."

And these founders, now looked back on as such great exemplars, humbly recorded that they were "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World in the Rectitude of our Intentions." Americans today, however they may phrase their source of ultimate faith, owe it to themselves and to their country to test their own motives and deeds by no less a standard.

## Nuclear danger—and hope

No global problem is more urgent than controlling the spread of nuclear weapons and safeguarding the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Yet the recent month-long review of such issues in Geneva has given little attention. And bottom-inside-page headlines have stressed the dissatisfaction of parties to the conference rather than the significant and hopeful consensus which emerged.

Everyone, of course, has to be dissatisfied until the goals of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) have been achieved—a comprehensive test-ban treaty, for example. Countries without nuclear weapons naturally will be dissatisfied to stay that way unless the countries with nuclear weapons show that they are willing to control themselves.

But the situation remains complex, with nuclear powers China and France standing apart from NPT. And dissatisfaction with the lack of swift solutions must not blind the world to the progress that has been attained and that ought to be encouraged.

It is such progress that can assure NPT members they were right to join, while providing incentives for others to sign up—as three more nations did during the conference itself, bringing the total to 95.

Continuing progress in the nuclear conference

skepticism about the new governmental rules designated to prevent abuses of power, as announced a month ago by President Augusto Pinochet Ugarte.

Earlier, some of Chile's largest creditor nations in Western Europe served notice that they would not renegotiate debt payments until progress had been made in respecting human rights. It can only be hoped that this and other pressures for reform will take effect before the abuses multiply.

The world's heart goes out to victims of repression, whether by the left or right. Americans, concerned by their government's secret role in opposition to the previous Chilean regime, have a special responsibility. In encouraging the present one to live up to international standards of humanity,

"Hey, I found a spare tire lying beside the road"



## Readers write

### History's warning

Thirty years ago your publication was probably celebrating the end of the European war which ended by what was called "the allied liberation of Czechoslovakia." We, members of an ad hoc committee of American college and university students of Czech and Slovak origin, wish to share with you a few reflections prompted by that anniversary.

In recent times we have been increasingly disturbed to see the lessons of past history being fast unlearned and declared null and void. Czechs and Slovaks have developed a sensitivity to dangerous trends in international affairs, thanks to the history of their country as well as to their personal experiences. Let us express our opposition frankly. Let them serve as a warning to the United States to the unwritten but firm alliance between our peoples back in Czechoslovakia and the United States.

We have been observing with dismay the steady erosion of American and Western positions in the world. We have been shocked at the rise of those incredible doubts about the legitimacy of causes which the United States stands for. To stop and reverse this trend, we believe, of supreme urgency. We must further retreats might eventually lead the United States to the ultimate failure of its cause, and at that point the war was won, much could become a real possibility.

This is not the place to spell out the views on every single locus of crisis, but we must state our conviction that the firmness of your confidence in the cause of the United States, your support of its cause of independence and freedom, where are the best guarantors of peace in the world. Despite all current denigrations of the United States, despite all its falling tactical mistakes, this country at its core carries a major part of the responsibility for its future.

Kadanev  
Professor at  
Tel Aviv University  
New Orleans

## Europe assesses communism's gains

By Joseph C. Harsch

Political communism is dreaded in Washington and other Western capitals even more than military communism because it is harder to figure out how to meet and repel it. Last week Western statesmen seemed to come uncomfortably closer to precisely what they have for so long dreaded.

The new worry came in the form of a jump in the communist vote in Italy's local and regional elections. Western Europe has been accustomed to the communists getting roughly a quarter of the vote in Italy, and in France as well. This time the communist vote in Italy went up to a third — 33.7 percent. And this rise pulled the Christian Democrats down from a previous 38.4 percent to 33 percent.

If this were an isolated phenomenon even Washington might have managed to take it in its stride. But it comes on top of recent events in Portugal where a small communist minority seems to be exercising undue and dangerous leverage in the Armed Forces Movement which is more or less in political control of the country.

And although there is no direct communist factor in events in Turkey, there happens also to be trouble at that end of NATO's southern flank. The Turks are talking of closing down some of the American military bases there — and probably will if the U.S. Congress continues to insist on an arms embargo against Turkey.

All of this combines to turn the northern shores of the Mediterranean into the main "line of concern" to Western leaders and statesmen. Hence, that sharp rise in the communist vote in Italy was a distressing jolt which caused some reporters in Washington to start speculating about the possibility of an American military withdrawal from Italy.

However, such panic talk is massively premature. Also it is precisely the kind of thing that tends to encourage what it fears. To

keep these developments in perspective the following points should be noted:

The communists' vote in Italy went up, yes. But they still have only a third of the votes and that only in regional elections, not in a national election. There is no reason to believe that in the next national election the communists will get more votes than the Christian Democrats. More probably the communists' vote will drop off in a national election. Their success in last weekend's voting was heavily due to the recent contrast between corruption at high levels combined with stifling bureaucracy and the austere efficiency of government in cities which the communists have been running for several years.

Even if the communists did force their way into the government by becoming the largest Italian party they would not necessarily be under Moscow discipline. No one can be sure of how they would behave in office, but Italian communism has deviated on many important points from the Moscow brand.

The Italian party did not approve of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. It has sent delegates to the European Community's parliament which meets in Strasbourg although Moscow has opposed all movements which point to the unification of Western Europe. It claims that it would not want to take Italy out of NATO.

Back 25 years ago when communism first seemed to be threatening to expand into Western Europe it came to be assumed that all communist parties were under Moscow discipline. From this it was assumed that any communist party which got into government would use its position to further the purposes of Moscow. And 25 years ago there was every reason to believe that this was a sound proposition.

However, there have been massive changes in communism since then. Chinese communism has broken radically from Moscow. The Chinese have set up separate communist

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Clenched-fist salute from young Italian communist celebrating party gains

## 'Coalition is a dirty word'

By Francis Renny

Trigger words sweep in and out of fashion in British politics. What they are supposed to trigger is a storm of unthinking hostility. Not long ago the most prejudiced word was "illicit," though no one ever explained why it was so wicked to be one of the best.

Then the wind changed; any particularly powerful and well-aimed criticism made by an opponent was denounced as "pretextual." Today the trigger word being used by the Labour left in an effort to save their founding dreams is "coalition."

Actually a good many British people believe that matters are now so grave that the only coalition can rescue the country. It is indeed that only an alliance of right-wing Labour, the Liberals and the left and center of the Conservatives can command the strength inside and outside Parliament to put through the measures that must be adopted. These would include an end to subsidized rent, food and public services, and drastic cuts in health, education and welfare programs. One result would almost certainly be greatly increased unemployment which in Britain is now running at barely a third the American level.

Professional observers of the parliamentary scene doubt whether there will be a formal three-party administration. They think it more likely that Labour Prime Minister

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## Smith braced for rail cut-off

Rhodesia will move goods through South Africa if Mozambique cuts access to sea

By Henry S. Hayward  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

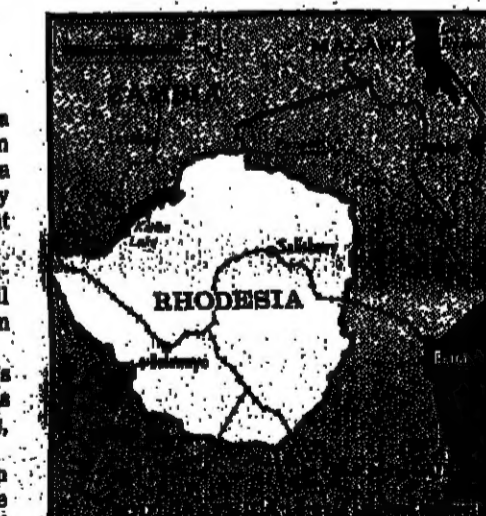
Landlocked Rhodesia is as ready as it can get for Mozambique to cut it off from the sea — if that is what the former Portuguese colony intends to do when it becomes independent June 23.

Rhodesia's main transport route to the sea is through Mozambique to the Indian Ocean port of Beira and then to the sea. Rhodesia's Prime Minister Ian Smith's government is preparing contingency plans to move its goods to the sea through South Africa.

The trouble is that Prime Minister John Vorster's South Africa is not pleased at the sudden prospect of handling virtually all of Rhodesia's trade over rail lines, roads, and ports already operating at near maximum capacity.

Rhodesia is believed to have stockpiled enough oil to get by temporarily and to have made arrangements to obtain more through South Africa for its basic needs.

"We can get by even if Mozambique ports are closed to us," a Salisbury resident declared. "What we don't understand is how Mozambique expects to get by without our trade. Zambia also will be hard hit by the



closures. If it comes. And Malawi may be affected, too."

Black African countries, in short, are likely to be adversely affected by a tightened blockade of Rhodesia. For Rhodesia and South Africa are major food suppliers to their black African neighbors. Rhodesia alone exports 1.1 million tons of grain to black nations whose food production has declined in recent years since their independence.

Suppose, a West German official was asked, Arab oil producers boycott the U.S. — as they

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## EEC to press for Middle East peace

By Harry B. Ellis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
European leaders are prepared to talk tough to Israel, in an effort to ward off another Arab-Israeli war that might divide the U.S. from its key European allies.

"When [Israeli Premier Yitzhak] Rabin visits Bonn next month," said a West German official, "he will be told: you must make a deal with [Egyptian President] Sadat. He is your last hope."

Oil, and the desire to be excluded from any future Arab oil embargo, lie at the heart of West German concern, echoed by other members of the nine-nation European Economic Community (EEC).

"We must have that oil," said a German diplomat, noting that the highly industrialized EEC gets the bulk of its oil from Arab wells.

Already the EEC and the Arab League are well advanced in talks, so far at the expert level, to foster economic and other forms of cooperation between Western Europe and Arab lands.

"We had no idea," said a high-ranking European source, following talks with Arab officials, "how much they want our technology and know-how."

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## Communists who aim to rule Britain

Over the years the Communist Party has made little headway with British voters. But today Communists hold key posts in some of the country's most powerful trade unions, a cause for growing concern in an economy where the unions call the tune.

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## FOCUS

## Portugal's middle-class exodus

By Helen Gibson

Lisbon  
When the Garretts, descendants of the famous Portuguese poet, Almeida Garrett, came home to their 800-acre farm after a day trip to Lisbon last month, they found soldiers barring their way. The lieutenant in charge told them the farm now belonged to workers and the soldiers, and that he would later advise the Garretts whether they would be allowed to pick up their personal belongings.

Now the Garretts are leaving revolutionary Portugal for Brazil — part of an upper- and middle-class exodus involving all kinds of people, from landowners to waiters, in numbers estimated to reach into the thousands.

"Everyone we know — doctors, lawyers, architects — they're all leaving for Brazil. No one feels sure about the future of this country," said Mrs. Maria Garrett. "Now our farm has been occupied, we're leaving, too."

(Brazil was settled by Portuguese and is Portuguese-speaking.)

The trouble at the Garrett farm had started the previous month when teen-age temporary workers had demanded to be made permanent. The family refused, for they had enough full-time staff. The teenagers then went to the local military unit, and a lieutenant took over. All the workers still loyal to the family were locked up, then dismissed.

Although COPCON, the powerful military security force in Lisbon, at first showed some concern over the illegal takeover — the farm was too small to come

under a new agrarian reform act — they did nothing. The next thing the Garretts heard was that their dairy cattle, their furniture, clothing, and personal belongings had been sold to pay the workers' wages. They also heard that the farm had lost a number of sheep and cattle because the animals had been locked in stables without food or water for several days — forgotten while the workers and soldiers talked politics.

"I had hoped to be able to retrieve some of our things," said Mrs. Garrett. "Now all I want to do is to leave the country. My husband has gone to pieces — he built the farm up from nothing 25 years ago."

A recent editorial in the weekly Expresso, one of the few remaining newspapers that is free of Communist control and that ever criticizes the government, lamented over the "thousands of technicians that are about to reestablish themselves in Europe, the United States, Canada, and Brazil."

Joining them are hundreds of businessmen purged from middle and upper management in insurance companies, banks, factories, and commercial enterprises, who have been blacklisted and unable to get further jobs. They are leaving the country to the strains of the latest popular song, the lyric of which goes, "Come on, let's beat up the bosses."

But it is not only the professionals and businessmen who are leaving. A headwaiter at Sancho's, a popular downtown restaurant, says he is arranging his documents for emigration to Canada.

He had invested his savings in a few shares in the business, but says he now wants to lose them all to be able to leave the country.

"With the way things are going, the restaurant will be closed in three months time," he said bitterly. "But the workers have it and try to run it."

Union troubles recently closed all restaurants, and cafeterias for several days, and the government forced the owners to sign up large increases in staffs. Now that a dishwasher can earn a month and waiters between \$50 and \$60, many hotels and restaurants are simply cannot afford to stay in business.

The owner of a tourist hotel in the Algarve coastal region told guests that he had had to leave from the government in order to pay the payment of the previous month's wages.

But at Sancho's, the waiters are not happy about the situation. "It's all very well for the union for pay increases, but if the union closes, we'll have no jobs, and we'll be able to get new ones," one said.

Unemployment is the topic of worried conversations in Portugal now. The government acknowledges 10 percent, but economists say this is on incomplete statistics and places nearer 15 to 20 percent.

"I'm told," said the waiter, "that it is a good job in Brazil."

Why are all these people leaving? The Expresso editorial. Because of "menace of unemployment, the political general uncertainty about the future financial difficulties of many firms, and other reasons. We won't get them to stop, until we hurry up and decide what our future economic policies are until we can give these people incentives to do so."

## Azores in breakaway bid

By Helen Gibson  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon  
A separatist movement in the Azores, spurred by islandwide poverty and discontent with the Portuguese revolutionary government, is demanding a break with Portugal and union with the United States — to the embarrassment of both Lisbon and Washington.

There already are strong links between the United States and the Azores — 1,000 miles out in the Atlantic — mainly because there are more Azoreans in the U.S. than on the islands.

The Azoreans have been emigrating in droves to the U.S., and particularly New England, ever since the early 19th century, when whalers from such ports as New Bedford, Massachusetts, called at the islands to replenish their stores and take on extra hands. At the end of the century, Azoreans provided cheap labor for the New England cotton mills.

Today, native-born Portuguese, mostly from the Azores, and Americans of Portuguese descent, number about 550,000 in New England. Another 300,000 live in California. The total population of the Azores amounts to only some 350,000.

Apart from social links, the Azores depend heavily on the emigrants in the United States for income. These send about a million dollars a year home to relatives on the islands.

Another major revenue-producer for the Azores is the U.S. Air Force and Navy base at Lajes Field on Terceira Island. Terceira, nicknamed "the Rock" or "Alcatraz" by USAF personnel, has the base to thank for being the richest of all the islands and the only one whose economy comes close to being self-sufficient.

With some 2,000 military personnel, 500 American civilian employees, and about 25,000 dependents, Lajes Field employs some 2,500 Portuguese civilians. Besides wages, American personnel annually spend about a million dollars from their own pockets on the islands and the U.S. Government has been pouring about \$8 million a year into Terceira as an added fillip.

For centuries the Azores have been the neglected stepchild of Portugal — backward, poor and forgotten.

Initial hopes that the Portuguese revolution would change things have not been fulfilled. The islanders' main complaint is that the

prices they are paid for their farm products are much lower than those given farmers in Portugal itself.

Antigovernment demonstrators earlier this month forced the left-wing civilian Governor, Borges Coutinho, to resign after taking over the local radio station and blocking the airport runways with stalled cars. Although troops restored order, feelings among the islands continue to run high.

When five NATO warships docked in San Miguel harbor the sailors found themselves being slipped pamphlets reading: "Help us. We want to be free."

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Striking Azorean coastline: 'The Azores are part of Portugal, just as Texas is of the United States,' Lisbon insists

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For the Americans, however, as one Western diplomat pointed out, the separatists' call for union with the U.S. can only be highly embarrassing. To start with, Portugal is a fellow member of NATO and the Americans are worried enough as it is over the future of Lajes in the face of an increasingly left-leaning government in Lisbon.

The Portuguese Government has made it clear it is not amused by Azorean calls for independence.

"While we realize that the Azores have not always had fair treatment, there are other

regions in Portugal that have suffered the same way." Information Minister Jorge Cereja Jesuino told foreign newsmen last week. "This is no reason to ask for independence. It is completely inadmissible. The Azores are part of Portugal; just as Texas is of the United States."

The prestigious weekend Lisbon newspaper Expresso blamed the situation on a clumsy central government too far away to diagnose and correct local difficulties. It suggested the islands be given greater freedom to run their own affairs, but said this should stop short of total autonomy.

## UDA vows war if IRA attacks

By Jonathan Hirsch  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Belfast  
If Britain withdraws its troops from Northern Ireland, the main Protestant private army here, the Ulster Defense Association, is fully prepared to take over the province.

The UDA's choice for Northern Ireland's military overlord is a quiet-spoken, burly, proudly blue-collar father of three — Andy Tyrre.

Supreme Commander of the UDA since July, 1973, Mr. Tyrre also is chairman of the newly formed Ulster Army Council (UAC) which links all the major Protestant paramilitary groups under a single umbrella. The UAC claims it can field 20,000 front-line men under a single command — under Andy Tyrre.

Mr. Tyrre confidently told me in an interview that the UDA has the men, the equipment, and the expertise to launch an independent Ulster if necessary. He is equally confident that he can continue to lead the UDA in any future role without giving up his blue-collar way of life.

He predicted that Ulster's new constitutional convention would break down, and that the Provisional IRA would restart its terrorist attacks in September. At that point — but not before — the UDA would end its own cease-fire and retaliate with an all-out anti-terrorist drive, he said.

Andy Tyrre was in effect the man running Northern Ireland for two weeks in May, 1974, when the British-backed local administration

needs underlining. The report goes on to say that this does not necessarily exclude from within the service. But it says "operation should be given to individuals outside the service" and it adds that "management and administrative skills are as important as the technical expertise and can always be found in an able deputy."

All CIA directors up to 1969 were recruited from outside the CIA. They came from private life (John McCone, director from 1961 to 1969), from the military service (Richard Helms became the first CIA director from the military service), and from the career CIA service.

The above should be read against the fact that the report finds that President Nixon and his aides used improper pressure to get things which it ought not to have. The implication is that Mr. Helms, as a service officer, was less able to resist pressures than a person from private life.

The Rockefeller Commission could not be expected to make a recommendation to the CIA's open recommendations of information. Its clandestine overseas operations. It should consider this idea further. It is to see how clandestine operations are conducted from such an "over" basis.

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## The Rockefeller Commission makes its report

## The CIA gets its dirty linen washed

By Joseph C. Hirsch

The Rockefeller Commission report on mistakes committed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in the past was not a whitewash. On the contrary, it uncovered and reported to the public several highly improper actions which had not been sniffed out previously by any investigating news reporter.

The worst examples of such newly disclosed impropriety included giving LSD to an unwitting person who subsequently jumped out of a 10th-story room to his death. Others included keeping a defector in solitary confinement for three years and "in one other case a defector was physically abused."

The major published allegations against the CIA were confirmed. There was widespread abuse of the rights of American citizens.

The report also found that the CIA had used improper pressure to get things which it ought not to have. The implication is that Mr. Helms, as a service officer, was less able to resist pressures than a person from private life.

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## British tank ousts German in Anglo-Iranian arms deal

By Takaishi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

London  
Britain's billion-dollar arms deal with Egypt

spotlights intense competition among Western nations to sell munitions to the so-called third world, especially to the Middle East.

The Egyptian purchase program has the final backing of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar. These countries have set up the Arab military industrialization organization, with the aim of promoting munitions manufacturing enterprises in Arab lands principally in Egypt.

The Hawker-Siddeley Aircraft Corporation and Westland, which makes the Lynx helicopter, in cooperation with Aerospatiale of France, will at first export finished items to Egypt. But the final objective is to transfer their military and industrial technology to the Egyptians.

Last year the Middle East took 57 percent of all arms exported during the year, according to the authoritative Stockholm Peace Research Institute. Arab Dhabi alone, with a population of 200,000, took \$63 million worth, compared to \$9 million worth the previous year.

Middle Eastern and other buyers flocked to

France's armaments show at Spago, west of Paris, last week, inspecting such items as an air-conditioned version of the AMX-30 tank, capable of operating in temperatures up to 150 degrees Fahrenheit.

The British arms deal with Egypt, concluded in negotiations with Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy last week, covers helicopters, training and light attack aircraft, anti-tank missiles, and sophisticated electronic equipment.

Prime Minister Harold Wilson himself is said to have given political clearance to consummate the deal, which had been under discussion for months.

Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon called in British Ambassador Sir William Ledwidge June 14 and was understood to have expressed concern at the deal, Reuters reported.

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Middle Eastern and other buyers f



Leonid Brezhnev: In with the army

## Brezhnev skips a rank and becomes a marshal

By Paul Wahl  
Written for  
The Christian Science Monitor

The addition of the marshal's star to Soviet party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev's array of medals and awards underscores his continued close relationship with the military.

Mr. Brezhnev's rise in the military has been steady. He was promoted from major general of military political services to lieutenant general after Stalin's passing in 1953.

Even before he became general secretary of the party in 1966, the press and military journals were full of articles which lauded his wartime services.

On April 17, at the opening of a so-called scientific conference on the 30th anniversary of the victory over Hitler's Germany, Defense Minister Andrei A. Grechko promoted Mr. Brezhnev to the rank of general of the Army — skipping the rank of colonel general.

Three weeks later, at the official celebration marking the anniversary of the end of the war, President Nikolai V. Podgorny conferred a marshal's star on Mr. Brezhnev.

The marshal's star can be conferred only on Army generals who are on active military duty. Retired generals or those who hold posts as Army inspectors are explicitly omitted from the list of those qualified to receive the star.

Since Mr. Brezhnev is not in active military

service, he must occupy a special post in the armed forces. This position is now held by Marshal of the Soviet Union, which was Stalin's position during the war, chairman of the committee for the jurisdiction in political, economic, and military matters.

Although the state defense committee is no longer active (it is not mentioned in the state agencies), it apparently remains a wartime institution, held in honor of an emergency.

Marshal Grechko, like the other marshals, has his place on the committee. In the Soviet tradition, the committee is headed by a civilian with experience.

When in 1966 Mr. Brezhnev assumed the post of General Secretary of the party — a position which had been Stalin's title, and which Nikita Khrushchev held before him — this was interpreted as an attempt to play a role similar to Stalin's.

It is noted that Mr. Brezhnev in his New Year's address to the Soviet people in 1974 extolled the need "for strengthening Soviet military power three times as much as we have today."

Mr. Brezhnev's address of 1973 or 1974 in his New Year's address of 1973 or 1974 Podgorny's in 1972.

## Repression worsens KGB tightens the screws

By Paul Wahl  
Written for  
The Christian Science Monitor

As Moscow publicly calls for increased East-West détente, the last shreds of "liberalism" are disappearing from the fabric of Soviet life.

The prominent reappearance of Stalin's name after years of official oblivion has coincided with reports of stepped-up activity by the KGB security police.

In April the homes of members of the small Moscow chapter of Amnesty International — a London-based, human-rights organization — were searched and KGB agents arrested two officers. Previously the organization had been relatively free from harassment.

In predominantly Roman Catholic Lithuania terror tactics reportedly have been used against parents of children being confirmed in the church as well as against the publishers and distributors of the "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church." The latest issue of the chronicle to reach the United States says:

"Believers are rotting in security prisons for manufacturing prayer books and religious literature. Secret police officials are terrorizing seminarians and students who admit religious beliefs."

The "Estonian Democratic Movement" — which was thought to have been squashed by the police for some time — has surfaced again with an appeal to the United Nations Secretary-General listing four prominent Es-

tonians arrested while supposedly exercising their constitutionally guaranteed rights.

One of the oldest shrines of Russian Orthodoxy, the 12th-century Uspensky Cathedral in Vladimir, with icons by the famous painter Iktubov, has been barred to worshippers — allegedly because of restoration. While churchgoers, too, called for the cathedral's restoration, it would have been possible to keep part of the building open for religious services, they claim.

Protesting members of the church council were threatened with loss of their jobs. "You have a choice between working and praying," they were told by security agents.

Vladimir N. Voinovich, a promising writer who has appeared in the prestigious literary monthly *Novyi Mir* and whose satirical (underground) novel "The Life and Unusual Adventures of Soldier Chonkin" recently was published in Paris, was called in by the KGB last month and accused of having insulted the party and the KGB.

The author's contention that the repressive measures of the KGB mentioned in his novel took place in the Stalin era and had been condemned by the party, were brushed aside.

Mr. Voinovich was warned that if he continued writing insultingly about the KGB he might be "dead one fine day."

On May 18 at a second KGB interrogation — Mr. Voinovich told the Russian emigre poet Naim Korzhavin over the phone — he was handed a drugged cigarette which left him unconscious for five days.

Such tactics are reminiscent of Stalin's day.



A friendly wave from Uncle Joe: letting bygones by bygones?

With this background of renewed activity against civil and religious-rights advocates, it is significant that Stalin is being honored once again. A recent book "Leninist Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union: Development and Perspectives" referred to the late dictator as "an outstanding leader of the party and the Soviet state." The book quotes from Stalin's works which have not been mentioned for the past 10 years.

The book was published in a small edition, apparently aimed at a restricted circle.

Stalin also has returned to *Kommunist*, the "Theoretical and Political Journal of the Central Committee." This year's Nos. 4 and 6 of the journal contain a collection of "New Documents of the Great Fatherland's War" (World War II) which leads off with a letter of thanks addressed to "The Chairman of the State Defense Committee, Marshal of the Soviet Union J. Stalin."

Other letters included are addressed to Stalin; there is a document signed by him.

The Ukrainian *Komsomol* journal *Ranok* appeared this May with a picture of Stalin originally published in *Pravda* July 3, 1941. It recorded him giving his famous beginning-of-the-war speech which opened: "Brothers and Sisters!" (for the first time, instead of "Comrades!")

For readers who are no longer accustomed to finding the late dictator in official publications, his prominent and honorable reappearance in *Kommunist* is sensational.

The KGB's stepped-up activity combined with the glorification of Stalin under party auspices is hard to reconcile with the Western concept of détente.

## Attempts to camouflage launch sites 'City-busting' supermissile spotted by U.S. spy satellite

By Kenneth W. Gatlund  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

London

The Soviet Union's success in developing the SSX-18 intercontinental ballistic missile — the world's largest military rocket — casts a long shadow over the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) which resume in Geneva.

Secret information obtained by the U.S. Air Force "Big Bird" spy satellite last winter is believed to include telephoto detail of certain Soviet launch sites which previously accommodated the older SS-9 (NATO code name Scarp) and which now have been modified to house the larger diameter SSX-18. The American satellite's high-resolution camera is able to resolve objects on the ground of less than 18 inches across under good lighting conditions.

Other vital information has come from U.S. tracking stations which have followed the new missile on test into the Pacific. Earlier this month Pentagon sources reported that an SSX-18, launched from central Asia, ejected a "flock" of separately targeted dummy warheads. For this test — the last before the SALT talks reopen — the Soviets had staked out a target circle in the Pacific of 130 nautical miles radius centered 34°49'N, 177°14'W.

A "hot-war" objective of this ballistic heavyweight would be the silo-based U.S. ballistic deterrent force of 1,000 Minuteman and 450 Titan II missiles.

The SSX-18 is a family of four Soviet ballistic missiles which includes the SSX-18, SSX-17, SSX-16, and SSX-15. It is believed to have a new guidance system and can carry a single 10-ton megaton "city-buster" warhead or six to eight 10-ton independently targetable warheads.

[A new U.S. missile, described by the *Crusade* missile by the New York Times, also was reportedly complicating agreement in the SALT talks.]

During the summit meeting in Vladivostok last November President Ford and Soviet party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev agreed to a framework for a 10-year U.S./Soviet pact under which both sides would place a limit of 2,400 on all strategic nuclear-delivery systems — land-based, airborne, and submarine. Of these, 1,320 can have MIRVs but there was no

mention of limiting the power of individual warheads.

A few years ago it seemed that the United States was far ahead with MIRV technology but the Soviet Union's determination to catch up and apply big MIRV warheads to their heavier throw-weight ICBMs could seriously disturb the strategic balance.

The "Big Bird" reconnaissance satellite has been vital in providing U.S. negotiators with essential facts of these and other military developments affecting U.S. security. They include:

- Proof that the Soviets were developing pop-up "cold-launch" techniques which allow bigger missiles to be fired from existing launch silos. The missile, which is expelled

from the silo by gas pressure, ignites above ground level.

Although this does not infringe existing SALT agreements, the heavier missile can launch and discharge heavier MIRVs. Thus, with honesty, the Soviet Deputy Defense Minister General Vladimir Tokubko — in an interview published in the weekly *Nedolya* — could say that "not a single silo for a ground-based launch pad" had been set up since the SALT agreement.

- Attempts to conceal work at missile sites and submarine bases by camouflage (also reported to have been used by the Chinese at the Lop Nor atomic test site). Last year a U.S. satellite found that the Soviets had screened

off parts of a major submarine base at Murmansk to frustrate prying from "Big Bird." It is believed, camouflage using highly sensitive sensing techniques. It is thought that a class submarine from this base fired the Soviet Union's latest SS-N-18 missile from the Barents Sea into the north of Midway Island in early October. This formidable missile, which can travel more than 4,500 miles, could reach London or New York from submarine bases in the Mediterranean or North Atlantic.

- Improved mobile long-range missile systems with launchers concealed in heavily forested areas in Eastern Europe and border with Communist China.

## Soviet spacecraft to land on Venus

By Elizabeth Pond  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

The Soviet spacecraft currently winging their way to Venus will attempt some kind of landing on that planet.

No American astronauts will be able to hitchhike aboard Soviet spacecraft during America's post-Apollo 1975-79 hiatus in its own manned flights.

At the same time, the Soviet spacecraft will be able to hitchhike aboard Soviet spacecraft during America's post-Apollo 1975-79 hiatus in its own manned flights.

The conversation was devoted mainly to the broad humanitarian aspects of space cooperation, but Mr. Petrov also touched on some details of specific projects.

On Venus, Mr. Petrov revealed that there would be a landing rather than just a flyby, saying that the probe will study the atmosphere during a descent to Venus. He did not specify whether this would mean a soft landing or a crash landing of instruments, however. He said only that the new Venus probe spacecraft is a "more perfected station" than earlier shots and carries new equipment.

The Soviet Union launched Venus-9 on June 8 and a companion Venus-10 on June 14 on a

four-month trip to earth's neighboring planet. Three years ago, a one-vehicle Soviet Venus probe landed an instrument capsule on Venus, but it stopped transmitting information after 50 minutes in Venus' 870 degrees F. temperature and atmospheric pressure 93 times that of earth.

As usual, official announcements of the latest Venus launches did not identify the mission of the spacecraft.

Mr. Petrov, a gentle-faced man with curly hair, is the Soviet Union's foremost expert in cybernetics and the theory of automatic control. He is a prime mover in the entire Soviet space program and especially its unmanned, automatic stations. Even after

taking the post of Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) chief, he continued theoretical work in the field, and is the designer of the first unmanned moon explorer scheduled for launch in 1976.

As a secretary of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Mr. Petrov also directs the Academy's Department of Mechanics and the Academy's Institute of Space Research.

Mr. Petrov is a known proponent of projects as manning orbiting laboratories up to a year, and he takes a long view of development. He sees July's joint U.S./Soviet flight as important for developing a rescue capability and as leading to international cooperation in the future.

He thinks it important for the two exploring nations to combine their efforts in the common benefit of humanity. The ability for cooperation, he pointed out, especially on the U.S. and the Soviet side, "the two cosmic powers, in the near future of mankind."

Intercontinental cooperation with other countries has included launching a French satellite in 1973, India's first satellite in April of this year, and a second French satellite in May. Mr. Petrov also hoped that other Communist countries would launch Soviet manned spacecraft in the next decade.



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## After Brezhnev, who?

By Elizabeth Pond  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

A slightly new ranking in the top Soviet leadership emerged from the festive parliamentary elections held on June 15.

In addition, the elections provided a forum for Soviet party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev to propose a new international ban on development of any future weapons even more "frightful" than the hydrogen bomb. In a week-end speech climaxing the election campaign, Mr. Brezhnev called for American and Soviet leadership to join in an "agreement banning the development of new weapons of mass destruction."

The election campaign showed Mr. Brezhnev in firm control of his usual top place. But immediately under him, within two of the top Politburo pairs drew the attention of observers who see Mr. Brezhnev's succession coming within a year.

Mr. Brezhnev's total nominations to the Russian Republic's Supreme Soviet (before he accepted the nomination of only one Moscow district) came to 26, according to *Pravda*, the official newspaper of the Soviet Union's Communist Party.

*Pravda* gave his closest followers, President Nikolai Podgorny and Premier Alexei Kosygin, only half that number, with 13 nominations each. The next ranking pair in the party Politburo, Andrei Kirilenko and Mikhail Suslov, had four each, and the only other Politburo members with more than one nomination were Kiril Mazurov and Fedor Kulakov, with two each.

The shifts were indicated in the more numerous nominations reported in the local press. Mr. Podgorny stayed slightly ahead of Mr. Kosygin, as he did in the nationwide Supreme Soviet elections last year. But Mr. Kirilenko switched with Mr. Suslov, to top him by a small margin, and Mr. Mazurov switched with Mr. Kulakov to top him by a small margin.

These shifts are closely watched for clues to who may soon succeed Mr. Brezhnev who is rumored to be considering stepping down within the year. Mr. Kirilenko's improvement at Mr. Suslov's expense supports the expectations of some observers that Mr. Kirilenko would be a caretaker leader until someone from a younger generation wins the top position.

The quadrennial elections of more than 2 million republic and local Soviet (parliamentary) deputies confirms single-state nominations made under party guidance. Voters are expected to approve the nominations in a demonstration of support for the government. A yes-ballot is dropped immediately into the polling box. Any demurrer — such as crossing off name and writing another name — requires a voter to enter a curtained area first. A 99 percent turnout is regularly reported.

In the publicity campaign for the virtues of the Soviet political system, the most noteworthy speech was given by Yuri Andropov, Politburo member and head of the KGB security and secret police.

Mr. Andropov, whose organization is responsible for eradicating dissent in the Soviet Union, bluntly stated Soviet opposition to "ideological sabotage" by the impact of Western ideas. He said Westerners who "are trying to sow doubts regarding the real democracy of the Soviet system" and are "unscrupulously distorting facts" in raising question about "infringement of civil rights in the U.S.S.R."

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'A reunited country to win'

## North Korea's Kim Il Sung raises the spectre of war

By Victor Zorza

How seriously should one regard official North Korean warnings that "war may break out at any moment"? President Kim Il Sung of North Korea has just returned to Pyongyang after a round of visits to friendly capitals in Asia, Europe, and Africa where he sought to impress his hosts with the danger of war.

The threat, as represented by Pyongyang, is a mirror image of the threat as seen in Washington. The Ford administration fears that Kim, an aggressively megalomaniacal believer in brinkmanship, might see the end of the Vietnam war as an opportunity to push the United States forces out of Korea.

Pyongyang, to judge from its press, believes that an aggressively imperialistic United States might see its defeat in Vietnam as necessitating the reassertion of the U.S. role in Asia by attacking North Korea — the only Asian adversary within easy striking range of U.S. forces.

While administration spokesmen, from President Ford down, have been publicly reaffirming the U.S. commitment to South Korea as a warning to Kim against any hasty action, Pyongyang newspapers saw their statements as threats. When Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger made it clear that, in spite of Vietnam, any attacker would be risking a U.S. counterattack against his own heartland, Pyongyang quickly acknowledged the message. North Korea would not be intimidated, said the main party paper *Rodong Sinmun*. If the United States started a war, the Korean people would "rise up to punish it."



A jovial Kim in Peking: firm believer in brinkmanship

By John Burns

Pyongyang seems to fear a miscalculation by Washington just as much as Washington fears a miscalculation by Pyongyang. "The U.S. imperialists should be clearly aware of this stand," *Rodong Sinmun* concluded, "and should make no miscalculation."

Kim Il Sung's first foreign trip, to Peking, has been widely interpreted as a journey in search of support for an attack on the South. It is true that some of his remarks sounded quite

bellicose, but they could also be interpreted as warnings against a U.S. attack. Even in the United States and in Europe many of the administration's critics saw the U.S. response to the capture of the Mayaguez by Cambodia as a deliberate display of military overkill after Vietnam.

It would not be unnatural of Kim, with his suspicions of U.S. "imperialism," to expect something similar on his own border. In this

light, his journey to Peking may not have been as warlike as it is made out to be. It may likely have been undertaken to seek reassurance and of help in case of war with North Korea, either by the United States or South Korea.

Peking's refusal to take an alarmist line does not lead the Pyongyang press to cries of war. But Kim continued his journey, when he resumed his journey, to the United States launched a war, he would lose — but a reunited country would be much the same as he, Peking, though he hardly could be looking for military help in North Korea.

But he could have been using the talk of war, to drum up support for the forthcoming United vote on the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea. Last year the call for withdrawal defeated by 61 votes to 42, with 33 abstentions. The abstainers have been under pressure to switch their votes this year, some of them are expected to do so. Warnings of war earn him more votes in United Nations, he will have good reason to be satisfied.

Much of what appears in the North press suggests that Kim sees himself as the great unifier of his country. If his streak of irrationality in him, it could itself in an attempt to bring "unity" when he judges the time right, as he did he launched the war in June 1950.

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## Mrs. Gandhi fights for survival

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is facing the fight of her political life. A court ruling in her home district of Allahabad has suddenly challenged her continued occupancy of the premiership and raises the prospect of her being barred from any elective office for six years.

Such is the smoldering volcano of frustration and discontent in India today that if Mrs. Gandhi is indeed forced from the premiership and elective office, this fabric of democracy in that vast and populous land might have to face its sternest test yet.

This critical situation results from the guilty verdict against Mrs. Gandhi in Allahabad on some of the charges of corrupt election practices leveled against her by her Socialist opponent Raj Narain, in the general election of 1971. Judge Jag Mohanlal Sinha dismissed most of the charges Thursday — after a long drawn-out trial in which Mrs. Gandhi had herself given evidence last March. But he did find her guilty on the charge that she had used government officials, including her secretary, Yashpal Kapoor, in her election campaign against Mr. Narain.

The verdict, if implemented, would render her victory over Mr. Narain invalid and deprive her of her seat in Parliament, needed under Indian constitutional practice for con-

At first sight there is no immediate alternative to Mrs. Gandhi as prime minister; and for all the waspishness of her critics, her supporters see her still as the best hope for continued political stability in a deeply troubled India.

But Reuter reports from New Delhi that the idea is being aired among some of her supporters that Mrs. Gandhi would draw to herself tremendous support if she temporarily stepped down while her appeal against conviction were heard — and the appeal went in her favor. Speculation in the Indian capital on a possible substitute for Mrs. Gandhi as Prime Minister includes such names as Food Minister Jagjivan Ram, Defense Minister Swaran Singh, and Foreign Minister Yashwantrao B. Chavan.

Mrs. Gandhi, daughter of the late Jawaharlal Nehru, has been Prime Minister for nine years. At first, the old-time party leaders saw her as a stopgap premier whom they would be able to manipulate. But her smashing election victory in 1971, followed by the Indian-backed breakaway of Bangladesh from Pakistan, turned the tables on them and established her as an unchallenged leader in her own right.

But the high hopes of those days four years ago have faded. Mrs. Gandhi's election slogan "Banish poverty" is hurled back at her by her critics with scorn — because most evidence points to more poverty than ever. Admittedly two years of drought, a virtually uncon-

have played their part in this. But Mrs. Gandhi, the politicians around her, and her supporters out in the provinces get the blame.

Public disillusionment is deepened by increasingly blatant corruption. There has been an accompanying tendency to "vent" feelings through violence. Last January, Railways Minister Lalit Narayan Mithra — Congress Party fund raiser whose name was often linked with corruption — was assassinated. And violence has increased in election campaigns — as in the one just concluded for the state legislature in Gujarat.

Mrs. Gandhi, Brahmin that she is, is inclined to respond to all this in a high-minded manner which irritates her critics. One of them, who had broken with her in 1966, said Thursday he was "delighted" she had "met her Waterloo."



Mrs. Gandhi and Japanese Everest team: will she slip from peak of power?

## China: 'don't let in tiger while repelling wolf'

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Now it is Thailand's turn to explore a shifting in the balance of its relations between mainland China on the one hand and the United States on the other.

Last week it was that of the Philippines, whose President, Ferdinand Marcos, was in Peking working out recognition by his country of the People's Republic of China.

This week, one of Thailand's top diplomats, Anand Panyarachun, is in Peking for preliminary talks before his Foreign Minister, Chatichai Choonhavan, follows him there later this month in the hope of negotiating Thai recognition of the People's Republic.

There is a piquantly Thai touch in the choice of Mr. Panyarachun for the current Peking talks: he is, in fact, Thai Ambassador to the U.S. He is available for the job because he was recalled for consultation to Bangkok as an expression of professed Thai displeasure at what Thais claimed was virtually abuse of Thai sovereignty by the U.S. in mounting the operation to wrest the freighter Mayaguez from its Cambodian captors.

There is an overall pattern in these diplomatic comings and goings. The U.S. setback in Indo-China is leading Southeast

Asian countries hitherto close to the U.S. to adjust to what they see as a net increase of the power of China in their area. They are bending toward China but not completely away from the U.S.

Malaysia set the pattern a year ago, well before the final collapse in South Vietnam but subsequent to the U.S. military withdrawal from that country. It recognized Peking — and Taiwan as an integral part of China.

President Marcos of the Philippines accepted the same formula last week in the agreement to exchange full diplomatic missions between Peking and Manila. Presumably the same will be asked of Thailand by the Chinese leaders.

Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand are all beset by insurgencies at home in which a Chinese hand has long been suspected. In recognizing Peking, or in moving toward recognition, the governments of all three countries doubtless hope to buy off the Chinese from any temptation to fish (or fish further) in their troubled waters.

The roster of countries beating a path to Peking gives the impression that Peking is, in fact, involved in establishing a new and special relationship with the entire membership of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN): Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, and Indonesia.

Singapore sent a delegation to Peking earlier this year, but

diplomatic ties have not yet been formalized. (This may be due to the fact that special problems arise because most Singaporeans, like their Prime Minister, Lee Kuan-yew, are ethnically Chinese.) Indonesia has always indicated it would be the last ASEAN member to re-involve itself with Peking because of Chinese involvement in the abortive Communist coup in Indonesia in the early 1960s.

The interesting thing in all this is that Peking is apparently not pressing these ASEAN members to break with the U.S. as the price of exchanging embassies. While President Marcos was in China, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Philip Habib was winding up in Manila a three-week visit to Southeast Asian countries. Despite recent public statements from both Thai and Philippine leaders suggesting a desire to put some distance between themselves and the U.S., Mr. Habib said while in Manila: "I have no difficulty imagining continued cooperation with these countries."

A clue as to why China still wants at least some U.S. presence in the area came in a remark to President Marcos by Chinese Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping. The latter reminded Mr. Marcos of the danger of "letting the tiger in through the back door while repelling the wolf from the front gate." In other words: do not drive the Americans out if it means letting the Russians in.

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# Latin America

## Evidence of CIA complicity in Trujillo murder

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Hosion

It was just before midnight. Moonlight glinted off the waters of the Caribbean. The lone car on the coastal highway, a chauffeur-driven limousine, sped westward toward the Dominican Republic city of San Cristobal.

The limousine's two occupants, chauffeur and passenger, at first failed to notice the green Chevrolet that followed them — and by the time they became aware of the vehicle, it was too late.

The Chevrolet pulled alongside, spraying the limousine with rifle and carbine bullets. Both cars came to a halt. The chauffeur escaped, but the passenger was killed.

Thus the 30-year dictatorship of Gen. Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina came to an end.

The whole incident, which took place May 30, 1961, was long thought to have been solely the work of Dominican patriots, including Antonio Imbert Barreras, the driver of the Chevrolet, who himself became a general in the years after the assassination of General Trujillo.

But this weekend, there is mounting evidence that the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had a hand in the affair.

In fact, Washington sources say that the U.S. contributed "significant material support" to the Trujillo assassination.

Efforts this weekend to reach General Imbert, the lone survivor of the team of assassins, failed, but other Dominican sources say that "there were lots of CIA agents in

Santo Domingo in the weeks before the Trujillo assassination."

If all this information proves true, it will be the first specific instance in which there is proof the CIA successfully participated in the assassination of a foreign leader.

Speculation that the CIA had a hand in a number of such assassinations has been growing since the first of the year.

Just what the motive was for participating in the Trujillo assassination is not clear, nor is it clear at what level in the administrations of either President Kennedy or President Eisenhower it might have been ordered. The assassination took place four months after John F. Kennedy became President and only weeks after the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, which had been organized under President Eisenhower although carried out under President Kennedy.



Rafael Trujillo

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# Middle East

## Where the greens are black

By Joseph Fitchett  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon

The fairways are sprayed with oil instead of water — to protect them from wind erosion. The greens aren't actually green, but black, because they're made of oil-treated, compacted sand. The balls are red, because white would be invisible against the sun-bleached sand and rocks, and there is little or no grass in sight.

No, this isn't the spot Jack Nicklaus picks to practice his putting, but today such golf courses are sprinkled through the desert sands of the Persian Gulf — one example of a strong new appetite for sports, ranging from golf to soccer and karate, among the Arabs.

Soccer is lavishly subsidized in the oil-producing Arab peninsula countries, where oil income seeks any modernizing outlet. Every town in Saudi Arabia has at least one government-supported sports club. Kuwait boasts a dozen main soccer teams. Equipment is provided free to youngsters, and stadiums are built for night matches to avoid the heat of the sun.

In more socialist-minded countries, such as Syria and Iraq, sports receive official encouragement too.

In Egypt, where soccer was introduced by the British in the 1920s and banned after the 1967 war, matches are quite popular. There are hundreds of soccer clubs — in cities, factories, schools, and military units. There are even women's teams.

So far, the Mideast has no professional teams for any sport, but training for coaches is starting to be offered. Visits by international champions, such as American soccer player Pele and fighter Muhammad Ali, have helped popularize sports here. Improved communications are also bringing TV coverage of European sports.

One of the most surprising sports catching on is karate. From lavishly fitted

clubs in Beirut to Army-run classes in Syrian schools or private tutoring in Persian Gulf states, self-defense sports have become the first body-contact sport of traditionally unspoiled Arab youngsters.

As yet, Arab athletes have made little impact on the international sports scene. The Olympic Games next year, however, will attract national teams from at least a dozen Arab states.

The Arab-Israeli problem intrudes into sports on several fronts. In the 1972 Olympics at Munich, Arab teams withdrew after the terrorist attack on the Israeli team. More recently they have sought to exclude Israelis from international competitions and have had some success. When Israeli teams do compete, Arab teams default rather than compete directly. In addition, the threat of terrorism has led to ponderous security arrangements.

Apart from these problems, in international competition Egyptians usually eye possible medals in swimming, gymnastics, and squash, while Lebanese stress weight lifting, swimming, and marksmanship — disciplines in which individual Arabs have long excelled.

Traditional sports fell into two categories. One was the game version of survival skills; camel racing, falcon hunting, and trick shooting were practiced by the Bedouin; wrestling was encouraged among recruits in the Turkish occupation armies; weight lifting began in the mountains where farm lads manhandled massive stones.

Other sports were the recreations of the wealthy elite, who adopted Western colonial games. Riding and shooting, for instance, were typical activities at which well-to-do Egyptians and Lebanese came to excel.

Golf, one of the games introduced by Westerners, has never disappeared (although Nasser's regime discouraged it in Egypt).

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From page 1

## \*'Coalition is a dirty word'

Harold Wilson will put forward a package of cutbacks which his left wingers will refuse to support, leaving him obliged to beg for votes from the Opposition. There would thus be a minority government dependent on consensus rather than coalition. But other observers again think this would be only a transition to the Government of National Unity which the former Conservative leader, Edward Heath, tried unsuccessfully to sell to the electorate only sixteen months back.

But why is Coalition such a dirty word with the Left? There are two reasons. Labour has a long memory, and has still not forgotten how Ramsey MacDonald's Labour government of 1929-31 was forced to compromise first with the Liberals, then the Conservatives, and ended up as a National Government of all three parties, disowned by the Labour rank and file.

It was 14 years before Labour came to power again in its own right.

The second reason why both Coalition and Consensus have become terms of abuse is that the party machine is now dominated by doctrinaire socialists who believe that Britain can only break out of the cycle of crises which have afflicted her since 1945 by adopting an uncompromisingly leftist program.

This involves very severe taxation of the middle classes (one leftist told me he hoped to

see the basic rate of income tax lifted from 38% to 60%), extensive nationalization, and state direction of trade and investment. No coalition would agree to any of this.

The shock troops of the left are the 72 members (less than a quarter of the whole parliamentary party) of the "Tribune" group — named after their low-circulation journal. When Prime Minister Wilson recently shunted their hero, Industries Minister Tony Benn, into a less influential post — and allowed various other Cabinet changes to be vetoed by Labour rightists — the Tribune group wrote a letter to Mr. Wilson accusing him of betraying true socialism and moving toward "coalitionist policies."

Wilson (enjoying the renewed authority of his Referendum triumph) shot back a contemptuous note describing the Tribunes as "hysterical... inaccurate... ludicrous..." Leftists to whom this reporter spoke were deep in gloom. One of them said: "The oil companies, the multinationals and the city financiers have done it again. They've wined and dined all the socialists out of Harold. You wait: he'll turn out another boneless wonder just like Ramsey MacDonald."

The question is, whether the bitterness of "betrayed" politicians will spread to the much more dangerous ranks of militant leftist trade unions.

From page 1

## \*EEC to urge peace in Middle East

have said they would do, in the event of another Middle Eastern war — but allow oil to flow to Europe? What would West Germany, France, and other American allies do to help the United States?

"That," said a high European official, "would put us in a very difficult position. Perhaps we could share some of our oil with you."

As members of the International Energy

From page 1

## \*Communism's gains

movements in almost every country in the world. The pro-Peking parties challenge the Moscow-oriented parties. Yugoslav communism is fiercely jealous of its independence from Moscow. Romanian communism would apparently be as independent if it dared. Its party leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, was a welcome visitor at the White House last week. The history of ideological movements indicates that they tend sooner or later to become nationalistic. The Moscow-Peking break proves that communism is not immune to nationalism. Someday Europe may have to find out the hard way whether the communist parties of Western Europe are still loyal primarily to Moscow.

Western statesmen hope that the test will be deferred for yet a while. And they probably will get their hope. The Italian communists are not yet in the Italian Government. The Portuguese communists have too much influence for Western comfort among the young officers who are trying to run Portugal. But they are a long way yet from being in effective

Agency (IEA), the United States and most European countries have pledged to share fuel supplies in the event of another shortage. On the basis of Arab policy during the 1973 embargo, however, Arab producers would forbid European customers to transship their oil to the U.S.

European leaders deny any anti-Israel bias. They point to a comprehensive trade agreement signed May 11 between Israel and EEC, designed eventually to create a free trade area between the Common Market and the Jewish state.

This agreement will be of great benefit to Israel, whose major trading partners, except for the United States, are clustered within the EEC.

## Sadat sticks by U.S. plan

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon  
Egyptian President Sadat plans to continue pursuit of Middle East peace with President Ford, "who is not a cowboy like [former President Lyndon B.] Johnson." So he told Ghassan Tuqni and Michel Abu Jawdeh, publisher and senior columnist respectively of the independent Beirut newspaper Al Nahar, who interviewed him in Cairo.

According to their account, Mr. Sadat concluded after his talks with President Ford in Salzburg, Austria, earlier this month that the United States faces three choices in its Mideast policy:

1. "An overall American solution — something not undertaken in 1967 by President Johnson who was completely biased in Israel's favor, or by former President Richard M. Nixon who showed interest in the Mideast only after the October, 1973, war."

2. A new step-by-step approach, pending reconvening of the Geneva conference.

3. Reconvening the conference and continuing step-by-step diplomacy there.

"This," said Mr. Sadat, "is what the Americans mentioned in their explanations about a reassessment of U.S. policy." President Sadat says his own choice would be the first. The United States would declare its commitment to an overall solution, "after which we will go to Geneva under sponsorship of the two superpowers and work toward immediate implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 242."

(This resolution, passed in 1967 after the six-day war of that year, established the principle of Arab peace with Israel in return for Israel's withdrawal from Arab territories captured in that war.)

The Egyptian President said he wanted Geneva to convene before the end of 1975 "because the next year will be an election year in the United States when the President cannot take definite decisions." If there were no new peace moves, "we shall be heading toward the fifth war."

Unlike President Johnson's "cowboy"-like demeanor, Mr. Sadat added, President Ford is from the Midwest, where people are farmers (with) sound character, stability, simplicity, frankness.



Egyptian President Sadat

Mr. Tuqni and Mr. Abu Jawdeh added that Egyptian President "regards himself as a state of war with international opinion, who, he said, were fighting him with his tools. He named names, from the Soviet Union to Libya. His explanation of what is happening in Lebanon and other parts of the Arab world is that it is all part of the warfare being waged against him."

Mr. Sadat urged the Palestinian guerrilla movement to form a provisional government in exile as soon as possible. This would make it easier to secure the "understanding and support" of the United States which would easily deal with liberation movements and he said.

Mr. Sadat has sent letters to Lebanese political leaders urging them to compose quarrels in the interests of overall Arab unity. He earlier offered to come here and personally mediate the crisis between leftist and pro-Palestinian elements and the Christian Phalange Party which led fighting in April and May.

Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Hamid, due in Washington June 20 for talks with President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, has been here mediating the second time since last month. With him is Syrian Army chief of staff, Lt. Gen. Hafez Shuhada.

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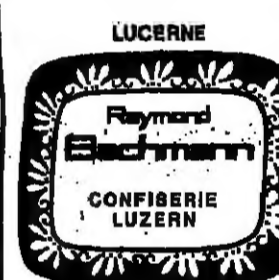
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From page 1

## ★ 'Coalition is a dirty word'

Harold Wilson will put forward a package of cutbacks which his left wingers will refuse to support, leaving him obliged to beg for votes from the Opposition. There would thus be a minority government dependent on consensus rather than coalition. But other observers again think this would be only a transition to the Government of National Unity which the former Conservative leader, Edward Heath, tried unsuccessfully to sell to the electorate only sixteen months back.

But why is Coalition such a dirty word with the Left? There are two reasons. Labour has a long memory, and has still not forgotten how Ramsay MacDonald's Labour government of 1929-31 was forced to compromise first with the Liberals, then the Conservatives, and ended up as a National Government of all three parties, disowned by the Labour rank and file.

It was 14 years before Labour came to power again in its own right.

The second reason why both Coalition and Consensus have become terms of abuse is that the party machine is now dominated by doctrinaire socialists who believe that Britain can only break out of the cycle of crises which have afflicted her since 1945 by adopting an uncompromisingly leftist program.

This involves very severe taxation of the middle classes (one leftist told me he hoped to

see the basic rate of income tax lifted from 38% to 60%), extensive nationalization, and state direction of trade and investment. No coalition would agree to any of this.

The shock troops of the left are the 72 members (less than a quarter of the whole parliamentary party) of the "Tribune" group — named after their low-circulation journal. When Prime Minister Wilson recently shunted their hero, Industries Minister Tony Benn, into a less influential post — and allowed various other Cabinet changes to be vetoed by Labour rightists — the Tribune group wrote a letter to Mr. Wilson accusing him of betraying true socialism and moving toward "coalitionist policies."

Wilson (enjoying the renewed authority of his Referendum triumph) shot back a contemptuous note describing the Tribunes as "hysterical... inaccurate... ludicrous..." Leftists to whom this reporter spoke were deep in gloom. One of them said: "The oil companies, the multinationals and the city financiers have done it again. They've wined and dined all the socialists out of Harold. You wait: he'll turn out another boneless wonder just like Ramsay MacDonald."

The question is, whether the bitterness of "betrayed" politicians will spread to the much more dangerous ranks of militant leftist trade unions.

From page 1

## ★ EEC to urge peace in Middle East

have said they would do, in the event of another Middle Eastern war — but allow oil to flow to Europe? What would West Germany, France, and other American allies do to help the United States?

"That," said a high European official, "would put us in a very difficult position. Perhaps we could share some of our oil with you."

As members of the International Energy

Agency (IEA), the United States and most European countries have pledged to share fuel supplies in the event of another shortage. On the basis of Arab policy during the 1973 embargo, however, Arab producers would forbid European customers to transship their oil to the U.S.

European leaders deny any anti-Israel bias. They point to a comprehensive trade agreement signed May 11 between Israel and EEC, designed eventually to create a free trade area between the Common Market and the Jewish state.

This agreement will be of great benefit to Israel, whose major trading partners, except for the United States, are clustered within the EEC.

From page 1

## ★ Communism's gains

movements in almost every country in the world. The pro-Peking parties challenge the Moscow-oriented parties. Yugoslav communism is fiercely jealous of its independence from Moscow. Romanian communism would apparently be as independent if it dared. Its party leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, was a welcome visitor at the White House last week.

The history of ideological movements indicates that they tend sooner or later to become nationalistic. The Moscow-Peking break proves that communism is not inimical to nationalism. Someday Europe may have to find out the hard way whether the communist parties of Western Europe are still loyal primarily to Moscow.

Western statesmen hope that the test will be deferred for yet a while. And they probably will get their hope. The Italian communists are not yet in the Italian Government. The Portuguese communists have too much influence for Western comfort among the young officers who are trying to run Portugal. But they are a long way yet from being in effective

## Sadat sticks by U.S. plan

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon

Egyptian President Sadat plans to continue pursuit of Middle East peace with President Ford, "who is not a cowboy like [former President Lyndon B.] Johnson." So he told Ghasan Tuelni and Michel Abu Jawdeh, publisher and senior columnist respectively of the independent Beirut newspaper Al Nahar, who interviewed him in Cairo.

According to their account, Mr. Sadat concluded after his talks with President Ford in Salzburg, Austria, earlier this month that the United States faces three choices in its Mideast policy:

1. "An overall American solution — something not undertaken in 1967 by President Johnson who was completely biased in Israel's favor, or by former President Richard M. Nixon who showed interest in the Mideast only after the October, 1973, war."

2. A new step-by-step approach, pending reconvening of the Geneva conference.

3. Reconvening the conference and continuing step-by-step diplomacy there.

"This," said Mr. Sadat, "is what the Americans mentioned in their explanations about a reassessment of U.S. policy."

President Sadat says his own choice would be the first. The United States would declare its commitment to an overall solution, "after which we will go to Geneva under sponsorship of the two superpowers and work toward immediate implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 242."

(This resolution, passed in 1967 after the six-day war of that year, established the principle of Arab peace with Israel in return for Israel's withdrawal from Arab territories captured in that war.)

The Egyptian President said he wanted Geneva to convene before the end of 1975 "because the next year will be an election year in the United States when the President cannot take definite decisions." If there were no new peace moves, "we shall be heading toward the fifth war."

Unlike President Johnson's "cowboy" like demeanor, Mr. Sadat added, President Ford is from the Midwest, where people are farmers (with) sound character, stability, simplicity, frankness.



Egyptian President Sadat

Mr. Tuelni and Mr. Abu Jawdeh added that Egyptian President "regards himself as a state of war with international law who, he said, were fighting him with tools. He named names, from the Soviets to Libya. His explanation of what is happening in Lebanon and other parts of the Arab world is that it is all part of the warfare being waged against him."

Mr. Sadat urged the Palestinian people to form a provisional government in exile as soon as possible. This would be easier to secure the "understanding support" of the United States which he said easily deal with liberation movements and he said.

Mr. Sadat has sent letters to Lebanese political leaders urging them to compose quarrels in the interests of overall Arab unity earlier offered to come here and mediate the crisis between leftist and pro-Palestinian elements and the Christian Phalange Party which led by ing in April and May.

Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Hamid, due in Washington June 20 for talks with President Ford and Secretary of State A. Kissinger, has been here mediating a second time since last month. With him Syrian Army chief of staff, Lt. Gen. Hafez Sisi.

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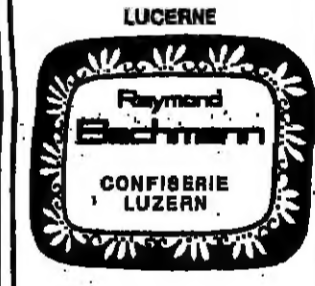
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# United States

## Ford or Congress:

## Who is in charge in Washington?

By Richard L. Strout  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The lopsided congressional Democratic majority has run aground on the shoals of President Ford's vetoes. The proud craft that was going to produce a new order after Watergate has distress signals snapping in the breeze. Once again questions arise:

- Can Congress govern?
- Is an "imperial-style" presidency necessary?
- Do modern political parties function?
- Who's in charge in Washington?

Four major vetoes in a little over a month have been sustained in the House of Representatives despite its make-up: 289 Democrats, 145 Republicans, and 1 vacancy. The House failed to jump the two-thirds veto hurdle put in the legislative obstacle course by the founding fathers.

Here's the scorecard:

- Farm price support bill: designed to raise prices for feed grains and give dairy support, vetoed by Mr. Ford as inflationary; veto sustained 245-182 May 13 — 40 votes short of necessary two-thirds.

- Emergency jobs bill: designed to provide employment and stimulate economy with works program costing \$5.3 billion; vetoed as inflationary and inappropriate. Veto sustained June 4 by 277-145, or 5 votes short of two-thirds.

- Strip-mining bill: designed to protect the environment by regulating coal operators, vetoed as inflationary and a curb on coal production. Veto on June 10 — 278-143, or 3 votes short of two-thirds. In the minority were 57 Democrats, 86 Republicans.

- The fourth bill issue: energy.

Here the debate of the Democratic Congress was more complete in the floor debate than in the strict veto overriding procedure. Congressional leaders assailed Mr. Ford's energy program and promised a rival package that seemed destined for a veto, but then they achieved the same negative result by default. The House killed tough gas tax and oil quota proposals last week and fell back on less stringent measures.

The energy issue left two memories: Congress recessing 10 days (May 22-June 2) in default of energy action; and President Ford, May 27, on national TV, tearing pages off a calendar, "February, March, April, and May," marking months since his energy package went un-enacted. (Congress has scheduled six 10-day recesses during 1975, plus a month-long recess in August).

Often Washington's big drama is president-versus-Congress. For half the 28 years, 1947 through 1975, one party has controlled Congress and another the White House. Few other



Marching into its third century, U.S. Army faces long line of new challenges

## The Army's birthday: the icing's off the cake

By Guy Halverston  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The United States Army — tracing its origins back to June 14, 1775, when the Continental Congress mustered up 10 volunteer rifle companies — faces its third century with uncertainty.

Military specialists say today's all-volunteer force of 785,000 may be among the most proficient that the United States has yet fielded. At the same time, many officials are concerned that problems today — from racial relations, to drug experimentation, to public suspicions about the military in the post-Vietnam period — will not be quickly solved.

And there is deep resentment within military ranks about the Vietnam debacle. While civilian control of the military is well accepted, the feeling is that the U.S. has twice been "burned" now in major overseas conflicts, first in Korea, and then in Vietnam — and that the U.S. has not been able to "win" a full-scale military "victory" since World War II — 30 years ago.

Old-timers, moreover, say the changes in today's volunteer-military have altered much of the Army's "rough and tough" spirit. "In Europe some of the troops want to sprout beards and long hair, we've got 'gay lib' hitting us with lawsuits, the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) says we're too big, and our own leaders want to take away our commissary rights," grumbles one source.

For their part, top officials insist that the new, lean, and flexible Army may be battle-tested for any type of conflict. It is now seeking to boost its division strength from the present 10 divisions, and the caliber of recruits, in part aided by recent jumps in enlistment.

Historically, the ragtag Continental forces that George Washington once commanded at Valley Forge, when the troops had no freezing feet in canvas, has grown to a high of 8 million in World II. The Vietnam peak of 1969, 1,510,000 was only slightly below Korean war high of 1,597,000 in 1952.

The Army, historians note, has fought in nine major wars, and has troops spread all over the globe. While the volunteer Army's "citizen soldier force" it is to a great extent (as it was during the 19th century), an essentially "professional" Army.

But leanness is now the key: since 1969, for example, the Army cut 66 generals, 1,700 colonels, 5,700 lieutenant colonels, and 10,000 enlisted men.

Still, the Army plans to celebrate its 200th anniversary with a leading off the festivities this week by inadvertently blowing a hole in the fence during a cannon salute at a New York Yankees game. Weekend, most Army installations around the U.S., and many overseas will join in public parades complete with marching bands.

## CIA probe: an alien hand in the mailbag

By C. Robert Zeinick  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

The Justice Department faces a difficult task in determining which, if any, of the CIA domestic activities found by the Rockefeller Commission to violate the agency's charter also break U.S. criminal laws.

Most legal observers conclude that activities related to infiltrating dissident domestic groups and gathering and disseminating information on individual dissenters violate no existing criminal statutes.

But intercepting and opening U.S. mail does.

Observers also note that while certain isolated acts, including wiretapping, the administration of LSD to unsuspecting recipients, and the physical abuse of foreign defectors may technically violate criminal statutes, such violations are rarely prosecuted by federal authorities if performed by government agents acting under the orders of their superiors.

An equally difficult task may confront the courts should members of organizations subject to CIA interference seek civil redress in



The U.S. mail: agents were reading it

to examine envelopes addressed to the Soviet Union for the presence of subversive material.

The operation, which ripened into one involving monitoring of the contents of first-class mail, the commission report quotes from a 1965 CIA memorandum acknowledging that "there is no overt, authorized, or legal censorship or monitoring of first-class mails which enter, depart, or transit the United States at the present time," and that discovery of the operation would cause "serious public reaction in the United States, perhaps leading to a congressional inquiry."

A second agency memo, written in 1969 noted the "flap potential" of the operation and suggested preparation of an "emergency plan" and "cover story." A third memorandum, written in 1962, conceded that discovery of the operation could "give rise to grave charges of criminal misuse of the mail by government agencies."

The commission report concludes that the operation, involving inspection of an estimated 13,000 letters a year, was kept secret by the CIA to avoid public reaction to the succession of presidents, attorneys general, and postmasters general until 1971 when it was approved by both Attorney General John N. Mitchell and Postmaster General William M. Blount. The project was halted in February 1973, according to the commission report.

The second area where the commission report indicates that the CIA may have violated its charter involved its intelligence gathering operation on domestic dissidents known as "Operation CHAOS." The commission report states that the operation grew out of pressure of both the Johnson and Nixon administrations on the CIA to determine whether any link existed between U.S. activist activity and Communist government abroad.

A succession of agency studies reported on such link.

# Pacific

## Marianans decide their future

By Lucia Mout  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Over 75 percent of the people of the Northern Marianas Islands have said "yes" to the idea of becoming American citizens. Whether or not Congress buys the idea of the islands being given commonwealth status has always depended on the strength of the vote.

Marian voters were asked on June 17 if they wanted to move from the status of United Nations Trust Territory to that of an American "commonwealth." Best estimates suggested that between 85 and 78 percent of them would opt for the closer arrangement which could eventually result in self-government and U.S. citizenship.

While some in Congress, which must approve the pact as well, are wary of colonialism connotations, the Capitol Hill reaction was expected to hinge in large part on the vote of those living on the 14 islands in question.

"If the vote in favor is large, a lot of the controversy will evaporate," a Senate source had said.

For more than 20 years various municipal councils and local referenda in the Marianas have been urging closer political ties with the U.S. of some kind. The vote has shown that they were indeed speaking for the majority of the 14,000 inhabitants.

Responsibility for organizing the vote and ensuring its fairness was in the hands of the

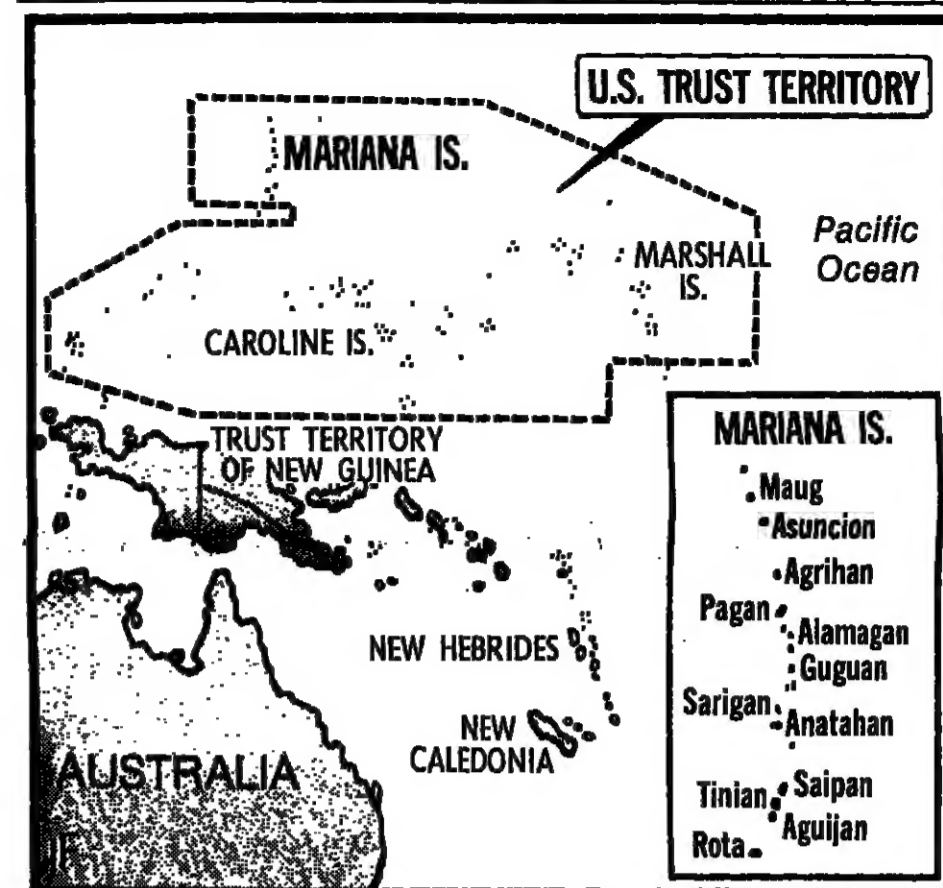
Plebiscite Commissioner, Erwin D. Canham, editor emeritus of The Christian Science Monitor.

Throughout the negotiations on the commonwealth pact there have been indications of some opposition — largely on the degree of autonomy and aid, as well as concern about U.S. military intentions and the immigration and investment impact which the status shift might have. U.S. officials feel, however, that in the course of the U.S.-Marianas talks, much of the opposition has dwindled. They stress that in many ways this is a "model" territorial agreement.

While the U.S. Congress will continue to hold its usual powers, it agrees not to exercise them in limited areas such as changing the constitution which the Marianans will draft or changing the political status of the Marianas without the islanders' consent.

The chief advantage to the U.S. in the agreement is the acquisition by lease for as long as 100 years of some 18,000 acres for "full and unrestricted" use. While early plans called for establishment of a U.S. military base on the island of Tinian, officials now insist there are no current plans to station American military personnel or to build a structure there.

If the Marianans approve the plebiscite now before them, the transition to the new status would still be a gradual one. The islands would not move under U.S. sovereignty nor their residents become eligible for U.S. citizenship until at least 1980 or 1981, the U.S. target date for ending the UN trusteeship over Micronesia.



By Joan Forbes, staff cartographer

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# refugees



Mother and child at a Unicef relief center, Ethiopia

## Ethiopia and Somalia

### Famine strikes again

By Henry S. Hayward  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Nairobi, Kenya  
Some 800,000 people are  
affected by this year's  
drought-induced famine in  
the ancient African lands of  
Ethiopia and Somalia.

As in previous dry years,  
the hardest hit are the  
swarming children, espe-  
cially those from one to five  
years of age, and the elderly.  
The drought in these low-  
rainfall areas also takes a  
heavy toll of animals — the  
camels, cattle, and goats on  
which nomadic peoples de-  
pend for existence.

By the time refugees reach  
relief camps they not only  
are destitute but also debilit-  
ated from lack of food and  
water.

Months of drought and un-  
relenting sunshine since last  
November have prevented  
the raising of crops in the  
vast Ogaden Desert region  
which Ethiopia and Somalia  
share. Persistent over-  
grazing of the land by ani-  
mals desperate for food has  
stripped it of virtually every  
edible blade.

Even the normal sparse  
rains did not come to the  
 parched Ogaden last year, a

Some 40,000 deaths already  
have occurred in the two  
nations, according to esti-  
mates of relief officials.

Emergency camps in Eth-  
iopia are overcrowded with  
desert people in pitiful con-  
dition who have made their  
way in from the desiccated  
countryside.

As of May 17, Somalia had  
240,000 adults and children in  
18 relief camps. In a major  
migration move, Somali au-  
thorities are planning to send  
90,000 nomads from the  
drought-stricken north of the  
country to special rehabilita-  
tion camps in the southern  
agricultural area.

A vanguard of 18,000 able-  
bodied men will be taken to  
five selected potential farm-

ing areas along the Juba  
River, one of the two streams  
in Somalia and the only one  
that flows all year long. This  
advance party hopes to plant  
its first crop during the rainy  
season next October. Before  
then it will build accommoda-  
tions and dig wells in the  
wilderness before their fami-  
lies are brought in.

Transforming nomads with a  
centuries-old tradition of  
roving into farmers of a fixed  
location will be difficult, but  
Somalis are hard at work on  
the project. Another 78,000  
nomads will be introduced to  
coastal fishing at 14 points in  
the north and along the Gulf  
of Aden. This may be an even  
more difficult transition for  
desert wanderers.

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## Palestine refugees face cuts

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon  
The feeding, education, and welfare of 1.5  
million Palestine refugees may soon be  
sharply cut, generating new pressures in their  
Arab host countries and aggravating the Arab-  
Israeli conflict.

The United Nations Relief and Works  
Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA)  
says because of a \$24 million budget deficit it  
must either close its schools for 280,000  
Palestinian children next month, or, in Sep-  
tember, totally suspend all education, hous-  
ing, and feeding operations.

Closing the agency's 562 elementary and  
preparatory schools would leave 7,500 Pale-  
stinian teachers, a politically militant group,  
without work. In all, UNRWA employs 15,157  
persons, nearly all Palestinians except for 126  
international UN posts staffed by nationals of  
other countries.

The UNRWA cutbacks would equally affect  
its activities in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and  
the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip and Jordan  
West Bank areas.

Lebanese, Syrian, and Jordanian govern-  
ment services to the refugees are consid-  
erable, but they would be unable to cope with

the chasm left if UNRWA went out of  
business. The threat to the refugees' existence  
at a time of heightened military tensions.

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)  
spokesman Abdel Mohsen Abu Mawarid  
called on "Palestinian masses" to support  
camps to oppose any efforts to close  
international commitments toward them.

Following a PLO executive meeting in  
Damascus, Mr. Abu Mawarid said the  
refugee problem, since 1948, has been  
"Israeli aggression" with United Nations  
port. "Attempts by UNRWA to carry out  
services conceal political objectives. A  
responsibility for this problem  
therefore assure necessary funds.

According to United Nations figures,  
contributions to UNRWA from 1973 to  
last year were \$986 million. The U.S. al-  
located \$577 million and Britain \$140 million.  
Arab oil states contributed less than 1% of  
UNRWA's 1974 budget, but have  
the Palestinians with other aid.

UNRWA commissioner-general Jan  
nie and UN Secretary-General Kurt Wald-  
heid visited Saudi Arabia and other Arab  
but were unsuccessful in raising funds.

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## South Africa

### Dents in the apartheid wall

By Humphrey Tyler  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town  
South Africa has broken two more holes in  
its apartheid (racial separation) barriers:

- After some highly embarrassing incidents  
involving important South African black lead-  
ers and prominent blacks from overseas, the  
government has scrapped apartheid regula-  
tions for a series of topflight hotels around  
the country. In future black visitors will be  
given special papers to allow them to enter  
any public place, despite the general color  
restrictions.
- For the first time South Africa fielded a  
team composed of both white and black  
players for a Rugby football match against a  
French touring team.

At present the laws restricting black visitors  
from using major hotels in South African  
cities are vague, and even government offi-  
cials interpret them differently.

In general there are separate hotels for the  
different races. Where the same hotel caters  
to both white and black, there usually are  
separate bars and other facilities, and those  
for the blacks are likely to be inferior.

Even at expensive hotels catering to top  
businessmen and international visitors there  
has been confusion about whether special  
permits were needed to allow blacks in the  
lounges.

Lawyers have maintained that under some  
circumstances a black in a white hotel who ate  
a meal standing up would be within his rights,  
but that he could be taken to jail if he sat down  
and thus technically "occupied" an area in the  
wrong racial part of the town.

On several occasions black visitors have  
been refused service at some high-class hotels  
and ordered out. At others they have been

allowed food but refused drinks because this  
might be illegal under the liquor laws.

A screaming, cheering crowd of 35,000 white  
and black supporters endorsed the govern-  
ment's decision to allow blacks in the South  
African Rugby team which played and de-  
feated the visiting French team over the  
weekend. The South African side included two  
blacks and two players of mixed parentage.  
(The spectator stands are still segregated.)  
Integrated sport has been an issue in South  
Africa for years.

In the past 10 years there has been  
increasing pressure on South Africa to in-  
tegrate in sports or get out of international  
competition. The issue culminated in the ban  
of South Africa from the Olympic Games and  
in a number of countries refusing to meet it in  
sports events. This was felt more acutely  
when it came to Rugby, the South African  
national game.

Things came to a head when the French  
Rugby board agreed to send a team to tour  
South Africa only on condition that it had at  
least one match with a "mixed" South African  
team. In spite of bitter protests from its right-  
wing members that this was the beginning of  
the end of apartheid, Prime Minister Joan  
Vorster finally accepted.

[South Africa last week eased the apartheid  
regulations in South-West Africa (Namibia),  
the former German colony it has administered  
since the end of World War I. This was seen  
outside South Africa as a gesture deliberately  
timed to coincide with the current United  
Nations Security Council debate on what steps  
to take to force Mr. Vorster's government to  
grant Namibia independence.

[The United States, Britain, and France  
have jointly vetoed a resolution sponsored by  
"third world" countries that would have  
imposed a mandatory arms embargo against  
South Africa.]

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Through these doors pass a powerful minority — British Communist Party headquarters, London

AP photo

# How a handful of Communists aims to rule Britannia

Over the years the Communist Party has made little headway with British voters. But today Communists hold key posts in some of the country's most powerful trade unions, a cause for growing concern in an economy where the unions call the tune.

By David Anable  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

London  
Just a carrot's throw from the boarded-up remains of Covent Garden's former fruit and vegetable market stands a grimy office building, fronted with thick frosted glass and crumbling stone and marked with a barely visible, small brass plate. Inside, light bulbs hang unshaded from their wires. The walls of the waiting room are bare and dingy. It is the headquarters of the British Communist Party.

Despite the seedy anonymity of their King Street offices, Britain's Communists are today the focus of an unaccustomed glare of public comment and concern.

Column after column of headlines in the newspapers and on the television screens lead to answer questions about Communist influence with faintly embarrassed answers such as, "I've never been a 'Red' under the bed, please myself, but..."

The reason does not lie in any sudden electoral success. The Communists' parliamentary performance remains as dismal as their headquarters.

Rather, the reason lies in the current power struggle between Parliament (regardless of which party is in power) and militant trade union leaders.

It is widely accepted here that some union leaders are using vast wage demands and inflation as blunt instruments to push a virtual economic revolution past a feebly protesting Parliament. And since Communist

power, overt and covert, is concentrated in the unions, there are fears here that:

1. The Communists are actively fomenting industrial strife and union-Parliament conflict for their own ends.
2. Their allies have infiltrated the Labour Party's parliamentary ranks to weaken that party's traditionally strong democratic ideals and to undermine its leaders' ability to resist union demands.
3. The Communists and their fellow travelers would, if they could, use the present turmoil as a stepping-stone to something nearer real, preferably irreversible political revolution.

## 'A faithful Moscow satellite'

All this sounds far out in a country so solidly democratic, so skeptical of wordy ideologies, so firmly attached to that curiously British mixture of common sense and self-deprecating humor. What are the facts?

The British Communist Party, with a membership of about 20,000, ranks as one of Moscow's faithful satellites. But there is no solid evidence that Communist officials in British unions respond to strings pulled from Moscow.

On the visible parliamentary level the Communist Party is a complete failure. The party has no seats in the House of Commons, nor has it even come near winning any over the past couple of decades.

But on the less visible parliamentary level, however, a rather different picture emerges. Some of the Labour Party's "social democrats," who comprise the bulk of the party and almost all the present Cabinet, appear as anxious as their Conservative colleagues about the motives and loyalties of some extreme left-wingers in Labour's ranks.

How much influence?

Lord Chalfont, a former Labour minister who is now an independent peer, put the point discreetly to the House of Lords earlier this year:

"In what I have to say I shall suggest that the

governing (Labour) Party provides, in one way or another, shelter for a number of people who are almost certainly committed to undermining the existing political system in Britain."

How much such back-benchers can influence Labour Party and government policy is an open question. Assessments vary greatly according to the political viewpoint of the speaker. But with Prime Minister Harold Wilson holding only a very narrow majority in the Commons, the votes of the extreme leftists in his own party can on occasion be of immense importance to him.

On the trade-union level, the Communists have a much more obvious foothold. Indeed they have clearly put most of their intellectual and ideological eggs into this basket, under the watchful eye of their tireless industrial expert Bert Ramelson.

Although only about one-third of 1 percent of Britain's trade unionists are Communist Party members, the party has managed to get itself into a position of influence out of all proportion to its numbers.

More than 10 percent of union executives now are card-carrying members of the Communist Party. Many other union officials are active sympathizers or follow the Communist Party line. In total, some industrial relations specialists reckon, from 30 to 40 percent of union officials are probably Marxist in their outlook.

In 1969, the Communist Party succeeded last September in getting one of its members (Ken Gill) on to the general council of the Trade Union Congress (TUC), the central body of British unionism.

## Methods, worker apathy blamed

The outdated operating methods of British trade unions, and widespread worker apathy, are most usually blamed for this formidable Communist-Communist foothold in the union movement.

Postal ballots, for instance, are few and far between. Hence, a well-organized, vigorous minority is often able to get its candidates into office because of minuscule turnout (sometimes as low as 5 percent or less) or occasionally by straightforward manipulation of the ballot.

Of course, it is perfectly legal for anyone to run for

current state of concern arises over any use or abuse of their influence.

Working in their cells, magnifying their influence by major proportions, and struggling for influence."

Shawcross, a former attorney and Labour Party member, is now actively and openly at work to bring our existing society and "space" (May 15 speech to the Wilder Hall in London).

Chalfont pointed out in his speech that the Communists use all the leverage of the Labour Party. According to Ramelson claimed last year that the party can float an idea early in the official Labour Party policy by having more influence now on the ground at any time in the life of our

unions. The second most powerful union, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, provides a vivid example of the party and its results.

The Communist target. Its 14,000 members, only about 2,500 registered with the AUEW's National Executive Committee, are the "card-carrying" members of the party, according to Lord Chalfont. About 10,000 are other party members.

The AUEW appeared to be under total Communist control. It has sometimes as low as 1% turnout, and were able to tuck their men or women and more union offices. "A small percentage are always on their shoulders," explained

John Boyd, the union's newly elected and fervent anti-Communist general secretary, in an interview.

Hence, in 1969 Mr. Boyd rallied the anti-Communists and managed by one vote on the National Committee (meeting as a rules committee) to switch the union to a postal ballot. The result was a dramatic increase in participation, often rising well above 30 percent, and the defeat of many Communist candidates.

However, the Communists counterattacked last month. The National Committee (meeting again as a rules committee as it does every five years) narrowly voted to retain the postal ballot. But, taking advantage of a mixup in committee members' credentials, the leftists managed to reduce this majority to a tie. Union president Hugh Scanlon (a former Communist Party member) later used his vote on the seven-member National Executive to throw the postal ballot out.

Such tactics, repeated throughout the union movement, give the Communists and fellow travelers national scope. "There are very few unions in Britain which don't have a Communist cell," says Mr. Boyd. "Fundamentally the Communists look upon their aim and object in life as being to undermine what they consider to be the capitalist society."

Under the "normal" conditions of Britain's mixed economy and open society muddle along sufficiently well to make the Communists' real national impact of little importance. But today's conditions are far from normal.

Weak governments and successive economic crises have undermined the authority of Parliament. Militant trade union leaders have taken advantage of the situation, delaying attempts at wage control and even flouting laws enacted by Parliament.

It is a moot point how much the Communists are responsible for today's highly charged climate of anxiety and confrontation. What is certain is that it is an ideal atmosphere for them to exploit.

Their motives and methods, along with those of the rest of the extreme left, have therefore become the focus of far greater than usual concern. This is especially so since grave economic and political challenges still lie ahead.

of their shoulders," explained



Despite the seedy anonymity of their King Street offices, Britain's Communists are now the focus of unaccustomed glare

AP photo

## John Boyd: tuba player and scourge of the Communists

"Big John" Boyd takes communism seriously.

This former chairman of the British Labour Party National Executive and current senior member of the Trade Union Congress has been fighting the Communists with a mixture of Salvation Army fervor and Scots shrewdness for more than three decades.

Back in the "hungry '30s" he tramped to work in boots with distinctive holes punched in the instep — to identify them as parish council issue to the poor, not to be pawned. It was then he adopted his life's motto:

"Work hard, long into the night, keep far from self, and spend my soul on others" (Charles Kingsley).

Since then "Big John's wee bit o' poetry" has been used to launch every one of his many union election campaigns. At 23 he was elected his union's youngest-ever official against strenuous Communist opposition. Now he has just been elected general secretary of Britain's second most powerful union (the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers), once more against vigorous opposition from the far left.

When he is not playing the tuba for the Salvationists ("I'm a man of faith; if the spirit of God is within, you have liberty"), he can be found campaigning



Boyd: Scots shrewdness

AP photo

fiercely against Communist control of his union.

"They don't have to work hard when faced with the apathy of the British people."

But he wouldn't have communist outlawed. You have to defeat it by superior thinking and action, he says.

"The superiority of democratic thinking should expose the shallowness of bureaucracy and dictatorship."

D. A.

— Frederick H. Gouldry



## A fillip for world bankers

By David R. Francis  
Business and financial editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The world's top commercial bankers, who gathered here recently for an international monetary conference, heaved a collective sigh of relief.

As Gabriel Hauge, chairman of Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, New York, and president of the conference, put it: "The worst fears of a financial crisis a year ago this time have not materialized."

It was at this point in 1974 when commercial bankers everywhere were nervously watching the collapse of Bankhaus I. D. Herstatt in West Germany and Franklin National Bank in New York. With stern monetary policies widely in force, would such bank failures become an epidemic? they were asking.

They didn't, of course. Bankers tightened up on their costs, became more conservative in their lending and investment policies, and generally improved the health of their balance sheets.

By now, most bankers are feeling pretty self-confident if not snug. Whereas the profits of many industrial firms are suffering from the recession, most banks are reaping up higher returns.

It is not that banks have no problems. They are worried about the safety of many of their loans. They are trying to tie their capital to a more secure relationship with their loans and investments.

But they have, as Mr. Hauge said, "negotiated the passage." He added in a press statement here: "I would judge that our



International banking system 'healthier for having been tested'

banking institutions are healthier for having been tested."

There are other reasons why the 200 financial leaders from the United States and 21 other nations attending this annual international monetary conference generally feel more relaxed than they did a year ago.

• The petrodollar problem has proved to be less severe than first anticipated.

Since commercial banks have handled the bulk of these dollars, there is some element of self-congratulation among the bankers.

Commented Mr. Hauge: "The short-term recycling job has proved so far to be more manageable in the event than in the prospect and the long-term likelihood of unmanageable shifts of wealth from the rest of the world to OPEC has taken on more hopeful dimensions."

• Despite the international payments problems created by the quadrupling of oil prices and the worldwide recession, the industrial

nations have not resorted to "beggar-thy-neighbor" trade restrictions.

Only recently the industrial countries pledged once more not to try to pass on their domestic problems to other nations by hitting at imports.

Referring to the opposite disastrous experience of the 1930s, Mr. Hauge said: "Perhaps, after all, we do learn something from history."

• Most industrial nations have reduced their inflation rates.

In the United States, consumer prices rose at a little more than 6 percent rate in the first four months of this year, compared with a 14 percent rate last summer. The inflation rate should decline further as the year advances.

Noted Mr. Hauge: "... The experience of recent months has shown that if inflation can be challenged."

• The worldwide recession, though a deep one, is coming to an end. Fears of another grim depression -- 1930s style -- that were

widespread last fall are being greatly lessened. Responding to higher unemployment and fiscal policies some nations and the results are now beginning to show.

In the United States, noted Mr. Hauge: "There is persuasive evidence that inflation is over and that our economy is breathing for a fresh advance."

Summing up, Netherlands Finance Minister noted: "The international system is operative, it has been remarkably and it has most certainly not collapsed."

There are still many problems. Prince Bernhard spoke of the dangers of "fragmentation of the world work" and a better relationship between developed countries. The industrial system is still in a state of flux. Unemployment needs to be reduced. But the mood among the bankers in Amsterdam was relatively cheerful.

## Winnie-the-Pooh and chums meet a challenge from Big Bird in pajama market

By Ren Scherer  
Business and financial correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Big Bird is taking on Winnie-the-Pooh in the pajama war.

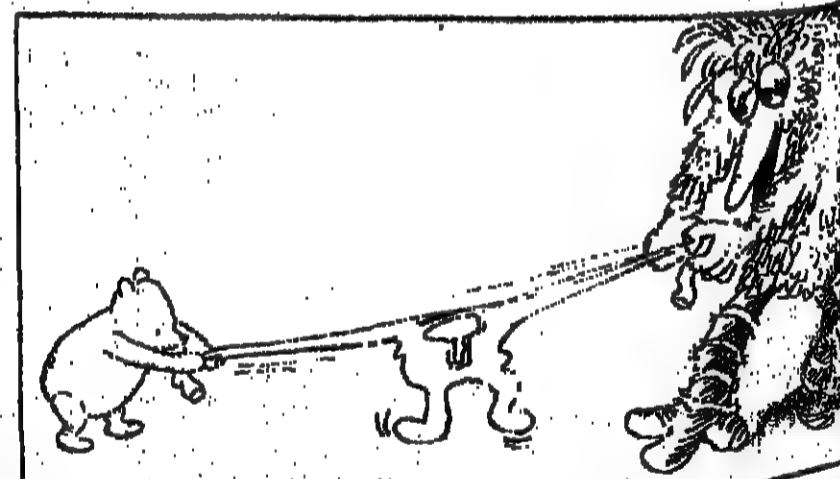
The pajama war, for those not familiar with flannels, terrycloths, and bunny suits, is the battle to win the hearts and minds (not to mention the buying tastes) of children and their parents and grandparents.

The entry of Big Bird and his legion of Sesame Street characters into the clothing

large-scale retail effort, though, CTW needs the money to continue its expansion while funds it gets from foundations and other sources are being cut back.

According to William Whaley, vice-president of CTW's product division, J. C. Penney was chosen "because of its marketing strength" and its reputation for low-priced, high-quality goods. Also, Mr. Whaley points out, "Penney has shown an interest in other Sesame items that are more educational in nature."

In the meantime purists are asking, "Why



Winnie-the-Pooh and the Big Bird tug for share of children's sleepwear

Montgomery Ward's national merchandise manager, Al Dapollito, says the retailer decided to "stick to its moderately priced, high-quality line."

As a spokesman in Chicago says, Ward discovered it had increased its share of the children's market despite the entry of Winnie into the market.

Sears, although not addressing itself

directly to Sesame Street's new line of clothing, says it feels the market is quite successful.

Whether or not the Muppet line remains in the "real world" remains to be seen. As one observer says, however, they may be in for a long time themselves. This time, learning to stand for profit.

### EXCHANGE RATES

<u>DOLLARS</u>		
Argentinian peso	.040	Hong Kong dollar
Australian dollar	1.350	Italian lira
Austrian schilling	.061	Japanese yen
Belgian franc	.028	Mexican peso
Brazilian cruzeiro	131	Norwegian krona
British pound	2.280	Portuguese escudo
Canadian dollar	.778	South African rand
Colombian peso	.034	Spanish peseta
Danish krone	1.36	Swedish krona
French franc	2.51	Swiss franc
Dutch guilder	4.17	Venezuelan bolivar
		W. German Deutschmark

## IQ tests are failing in American schools

By Clayton Jones  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The IQ test — calculating a person's intelligence in a single number — is coming under the severest test in its 70-year history.

While most schools still use IQ scores, a simmering issue surrounding such testing has erupted in the courts.

Black parents in Boston, Chicago, California, Florida, Virginia, and North Carolina charge IQ testing does not account for cultural, economic, and linguistic differences in students — and thus unjustly routes minority children into "special education" classes. And some judges agree.

Educators, too, are thinking more and more about whether intelligence can be measured at all.

In California, a federal judge found IQ tests to be biased in favor of white, middle-class students. The judge ordered last December that black children could not be given individual IQ tests in California unless the tests account for their cultural background.

An unusually high percentage of blacks had been found in classes for the "educable mentally retarded." Group IQ testing already has been dropped by most California schools within the last two years.

A household term in much of America, IQ scores are so embroiled in controversy that a few large public-school systems have tried to abandon them — in name if not in fact.

Still, most schools give the tests, and many states mandate group IQ tests.

Educators who administer IQ tests find them useful to judge a school's performance and, along with a battery of other

tests, in determining students' potential to succeed in school, says George Weber, associate director of the Council for Basic Education.

Teachers find IQ tests fair indicators for pupils without mental, physical, or social handicaps, but poor indicators of abilities for socially or culturally disadvantaged pupils, according to a recent poll by the National Education Association.

"What the IQ test measures, to a significant extent, is the child's exposure to Anglo culture," says psychologist Jane R. Mercer of University of California.

Black psychologists argue that IQ scores are self-fulfilling predictions — children with low IQ scores are placed in slow-learning classes where they learn less, thereby supporting the original score.

A few Southern schools recently have been stopped by court orders from using IQ tests to segregate white and black students within a school — based on the fact that blacks consistently score lower than whites on standard IQ tests.

The U.S. Supreme Court joined critics in 1972 by ruling that 13 black employees had been excluded wrongly from better jobs through use of a general intelligence test. Any test is illegal unless it clearly mea-

sures the skills needed for the specific job, the court decided.

The \$200 million testing industry considers IQ testing a valid tool for educators and is altering test designs to meet criticism. A 20-year boom in standardized testing has reached the point where a student graduating from a U.S. public school may average four standardized tests a year, educators estimate.

The IQ controversy has simmered ever since modern intelligence testing began in 1904, when Alfred Binet, Parisian minister of education, was charged with the construction of a test to separate slow learners from other pupils.

But the debate flamed six years ago when Profs. Arthur Jensen of Berkeley, Richard Herrnstein of Harvard, and William Scholke of Stanford each contended that there may be racial and sexual differences in intelligence.

Blacks countered by charging that the national samples used to score IQ tests were weighted heavily by standards for average white children.

"Educators are looking for different types of assessment," says Washington University black psychologist Robert Williams, author of a "black intelligence test."

## How to help children learn the 2 R's

By Cynthia Parsons  
Education editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Twelve years ago I met Dr. Jeannette Veatch at a conference on the teaching of reading. A dynamic speaker, a dedicated teacher, a deep believer in fitting reading instruction to the pupil.

This spring I wrote to Dr. Veatch, now a professor at Arizona State University, asking if I might talk with her about the "basics" of reading and writing. Her response was immediate and enthusiastic.

"On May 8 is the last meeting of my class in reading, writing (i.e., the basics) of the semester. From 4:40 to 7:30 p.m. we will be sharing and describing classroom teaching. There are 58 teachers in that class — mostly elementary with a sprinkling of high school. In that session you would find out more about how reading is being taught than you would in a week of running around and looking at classrooms."

Most of the teachers were from the Phoenix area which has some 58 school districts and nearly 260,000 pupils, kindergarten to grade 12.

The first teacher to speak that evening told of asking a pupil to pick a key word, that is to choose a word that meant something special, to learn to spell it, and then to write a story using it as the key word in the story. Result: "laundry." And the title of a delightful composition — "Don't Paint on Your Mother's Laundry!"

Another told of opening up her kindergarten class so that the children could explore learning centers. These centers even had typewriters and as the little ones learned the letters, they began making use of the typewriters. She contrasted her own class's ability after a few weeks to make constructive use of the centers with the inability of another group to do so because they were too accustomed to an authoritarian setting.

This teacher concluded: "A too highly structured environment takes the 'self' out of self-control."

Dr. Veatch interjected a note about the use of the word "structure," and exclaimed, "I insist that I am structured because I am systematic — even though I individualize the teaching."

A fourth-grade teacher told how after



Kim Hall, Plymouth, Vermont

Choosing a key word

By Joan D. Whitfield

individualizing her reading instruction and encouraging the children to share books and stories, she began freeing her art classes. She said, looking still rather startled at herself, "I couldn't ask them all to do the same drawing in art when I saw the fun they were having choosing their own reading books!"

An upper elementary grades teacher used a newspaper as a vehicle for "encouraging reading and writing. Stretching butcher paper across the length of the room, each 'correspondent' put his own message on. Several of the stories were in Spanish.

Nearly half the teachers spoke of using a "key word" approach. This is a "trick" — a device to get a child to focus on just one word making it deeply and positively his own. For example, one teacher who was studying Mexico with a fourth-grade class, asked each one to pick a key word — something Mexican. Each pupil wrote the word down and told no one else. He looked it up in resource books. Made sure he knew all its meanings and uses. Printed and wrote it. Then worked out a story of some kind and produced it as a "surprise" for the rest of the class.

The mother of a child not yet four years old told of using the key word approach (saying only those which the child really made his own and retained over a period of time) with this

little one, and they already had an envelope on the refrigerator with more than 70 words.

A teacher of preschoolers helped the class as a group produce a picture dictionary — drawings not out of magazines but done by the children. Only "key" words allowed in this "dictionary."

And finally, a high school teacher used a play about "Hill-Billies" (written to be read aloud in a 4/4 beat) to get the youngsters over their fear of reading aloud in front of the class. This led to a study of Appalachian Mountain peoples and the putting on of innumerable plays by small groups of the students.

Most of the teachers talked about changing not only the way in which they had been teaching reading, but the way they had been treating schoolchildren generally.

Dr. Veatch is a firm believer in the dignity and intelligence of every child — regardless of age. And she absolutely rejects the notion that the job of a teacher is to pour learning into an empty head. It was clear from the class response that there had been many converted to her way of thinking and doing.

Almost without exception, the teachers stated that they found their pupils were learning more — not fewer — basics now that the teaching was no longer authoritarian or in groups.

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## home

I speak Russian  
Я говорю по-русски.

How's everything?  
Как дела?

Fine!  
Хорошо!

Да = "da," yes  
Нет = "nyet," no

The Russian Cyrillic alphabet: shades of the Greek

By Jonathan Gray  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

When a Russian says he wants a typewriter, he sounds like a cross between a leaky radiator and a sneezing snake:

"Ya hot-choo pee-shoo-shoo-yoo ma-shin-koo."

The unusual sound combinations are not the only distinguishing features of the Russian language. There is also a different alphabet, the Cyrillic.

It was supposedly brought to the Slavs (including the Russians) over 1,000 years ago by two men from Byzantium named Methodius and Cyril. Even today many of the

letters in the Russian alphabet look like Greek characters.

There is one major difference that can get one into hot water when speaking Russian: the word "you." In Russian there are two words, depending on who is talking — and to whom.

At school, for instance, Soviet schoolchildren use the more familiar "ty" with their friends. But with their teachers, the children must say "vy," or risk getting sent to the principal's office.

When a Soviet citizen meets someone for the first time, he must use the formal "vy." But after he has been talking for a while — and it can happen right in the middle of a sentence — he switches over to the "ty" form.

Russians like their language. They think it is rich, which indeed it is. They can say the same

thing in many different ways. For example, they like having three words for "friend":

• "Znakomy" is someone you have only just met, but don't really know, yet.

• "Priyatel" is an acquaintance whom you may have known ten minutes or ten years.

• "Drook" is someone you would give your last drop of water to in the desert because you like him so much.

One can learn to read the Cyrillic alphabet, too. Many of the letters are just like the English. Others you have never seen before. And still others — probably the trickiest to remember — look like the Roman letters of English but have different sounds.

Familiar terms are the Russian way of saying "yes" and "no" — "da" and "nyet." Here is how they are spelled in Russian:

да = "da"

The first letter is pronounced English "d." The second, like

нет = "nyet"

The first letter is pronounced English "n," although it looks like the "y" in "nyet." The "t" is pronounced "t" as in "tea." Here are some Russian phrases like to get your tongue round:

"Kak d'el-a?"

"Har-a-sho?"

"Ya ga-var-yoo pa rosky." (I am a Russian.)

food is grown annually, the society reckons, an estimate based on an average of \$100 (\$235) per allotment, from which many allotment holders not only keep their families supplied with fresh produce, but are able to store the surplus in freezers.

In addition to the familiar clusters of allotment plots on the outskirts of most cities, a new type of leisure garden is appearing in the heart of cities.

The demand for allotments has shot up recently and, according to a spokesman for the National Society for Leisure Gardeners, the official body which protects the interests of allotment holders, there are at present about 50,000 people on waiting lists for allotments in England and Wales, a jump from 21,425 at the end of 1973 and 27,208 at the end of 1974.

Along with the money saving aspect of allotments, the increase in high-rise building is causing more people to want to get out into the fresh air at weekends, and growing numbers are realizing that a patch of green to cultivate is more rewarding than jogging off to the seaside, the spokesman said.

In the 681,780 allotment plots in England and Wales some 266 million (\$160 million) worth of

cabbage, spaghetti marrow and other row gaining in popularity.

A popular exhibit at the year's London Ideal Home Exhibition, a large-scale furnishing exhibition held in March, was a display of allotment produce.

Many cities have upgraded and improved their allotment sites. Some even have parking lots since some gardeners drive from home to their plots.

Sales of vegetable seeds also reflect the rush to "Grow Your Own Food" with Suttons of Reading, one of Britain's biggest seed producers, reporting an increase of 40 percent during the first quarter of 1975 over last year, which had shown an increase over the previous year.

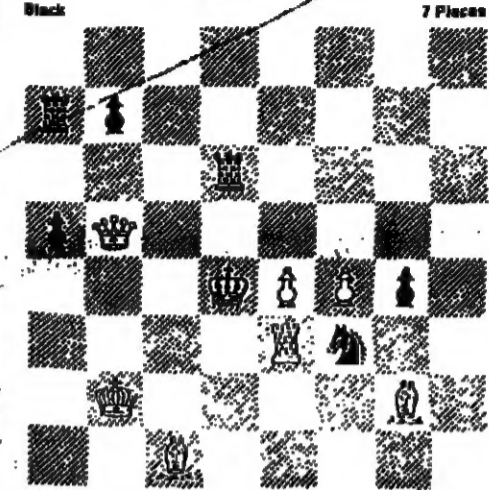
The demand for seeds is spread across the usual varieties of vegetables with Chinese

## chess

By Frederick R. Chevalier  
Prepared for The Christian Science Monitor

Problem No. 6703

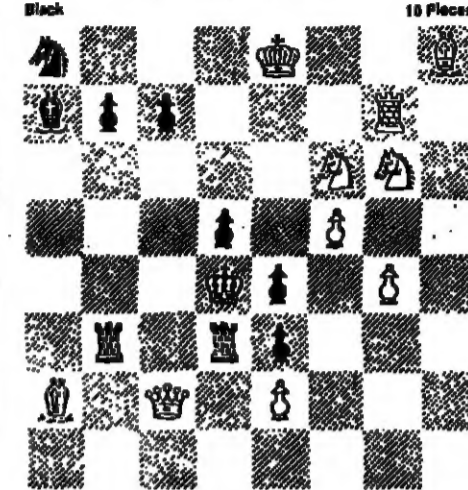
By Bill Barclay



White to play and mate in two.  
(Especially contributed to The Christian Science Monitor by one of the leading United States composers as a birthday greeting to Comina Mansfield. Mr. Mansfield celebrates his 79th birthday on June 14. He ranks as one of the greatest two-mover composers.)

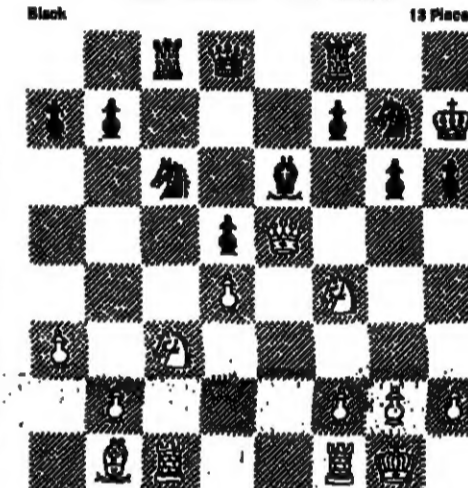
Problem No. 6704

By J. Savournin, France



White to play and mate in two.  
(Fourth prize, British Chess Federation tournament No. 135, 1974.)

End-Game No. 2206



White to play and win.  
(Trifunovic-Kostic, Zagreb, 1949.)

## Solutions to Problems

No. 6701. R-K4  
No. 6702. K-K5  
End-Game No. 2205. White wins: 1 Q-Q5, R-R2; 2 K-K5ch, K-K2; 3 K-K4, K-K1; 4 P-K5, K-K2; 5 Q-Q5ch, K-K1; 6 Q-Q5ch, K-K2; 7 P-K1, Q-Q4ch; 8 Q-Q5, R-Q2ch; 9 K-K5, Resigns.

## Tarjan Leads the Field

Jim Tarjan of Berkeley was undefeated in the Western Qualifying tournament played last month in West Hollywood. His score, 7-2, led Tibor Weinberger of Santa Monica by a half-point. Weinberger won six games, drew one, but lost two games, one to Jeff Kent and the other to Stephen Thornally of Boston.

## Nimzo-Indian Defense

White	Black	White	Black
1 P-QB4	K-K3	17 P-B4	P-K3
2 K-QB3	P-K3	18 R-P	P-K3
3 P-Q4	B-K5	19 R-K1	P-K1
4 P-K3	P-B4	20 Q-B6	Q-K4
5 B-Q3	O-O	21 Q-P	Q-K4
6 K-B3	P-Q4	22 R-B3	P-B3
7 O-O	K-B3	23 R-R3	K-B2
8 P-QR3	B-K1	24 Q-R4	Q-Q3
9 P-B3	P-BP	25 Q-K3	R-K1
10 B-BP	Q-B2	26 R-R7	K-B
11 B-K2	P-K4	27 R-B	R-K2
12 P-K2	B-K5	28 R-B5	R-B
13 P-Q5	Q-R4	29 B-K1	P-K3
14 P-B4	P-QK3	30 R-R7-R6	P-K3
15 K-K5	B-B	31 R-R	Resigns
16 Q-B	K-K2		

## A Great New Book on Great Chess Tournaments

"The Great Chess Tournaments and Their Stories" is its name, and it's by Andy Solita, one of New York's young masters. Carefully researched and written in an easy style, the volume contains accounts of ten exciting tournaments, plus anecdotes of the players and their families.

The first tournament described took place in London in 1853; it was won by a player named Zukerort.

And Boston readers, in particular, should an-

te the last two tournaments in this exciting re-telling of modern chess history are Bled, 1961, and San Antonio, 1972. At this point, Bobby Fischer enters the scene; he was, second, at Bled, though didn't play at San Antonio.

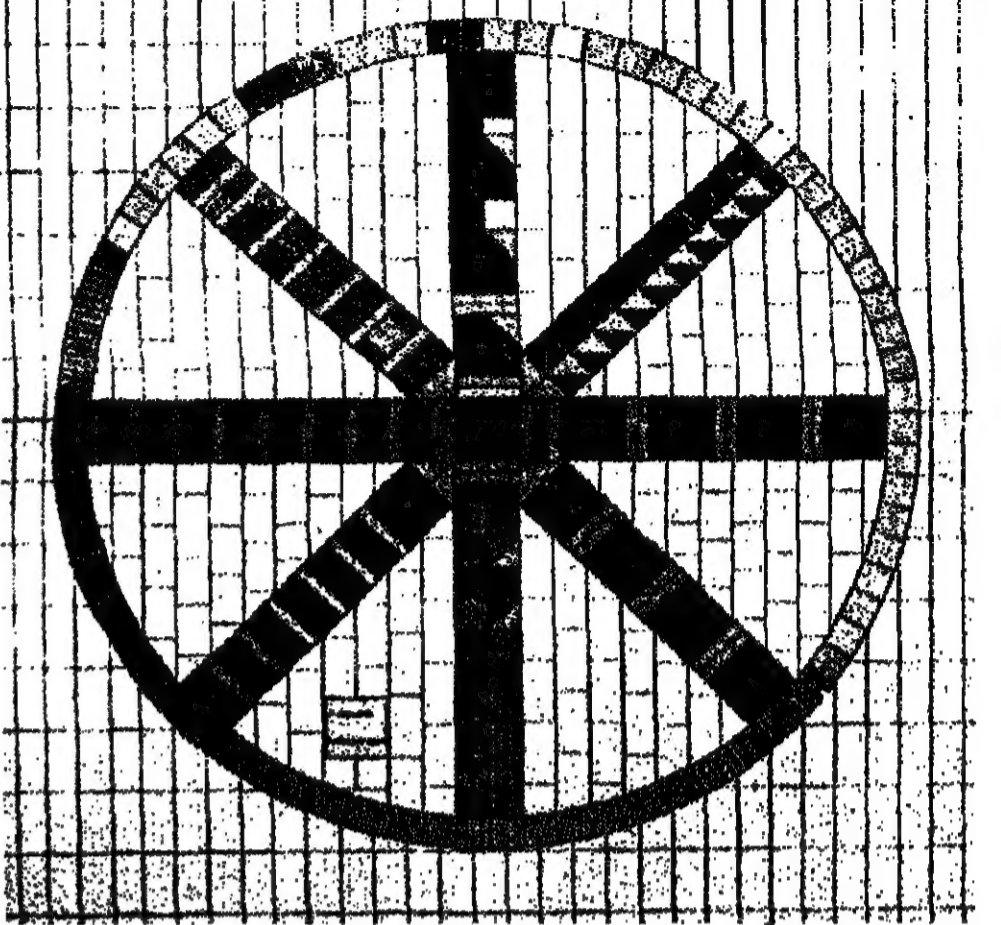
Naturally, the author gives games and fragments of games, with diagrams, bits of local color, and analytical comments.

The publisher is Chilton Book Company, who also has given up "Barber's Chess" (the Chess of Bobby Fischer), and the list price is \$6.95.

## Tubby



## people/places/things



T-Centralen: a Stockholm subway stop — with imagination

## In Stockholm

Catch the train and grab a little art en route

By Joan Kerr  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

In the Moscow Metro, an enormous crystal chandelier hangs for all to see. The Louvre Station in Paris displays reproductions of the famous works found in the museum above. And in Stockholm, art in various shapes and forms brightens up the Tunnelbana.

Regardless of the city, the purpose is the same — to uplift the spirits of those using public transportation.

In Stockholm, by law, all public buildings must have at least some artistic decoration. Therefore, Swedes have used their underground system as a place to experiment with art — using stoneware rods, ceramic tile, wall paintings, sand blasting in concrete, glass prisma plates, stone and inlaid glass mosaics.

The third extension to the Stockholm subway from T-Centralen to Hjulsta will open Sept. 1, and seven of the 10 stops will display some form of art work.

The new station, built with a design theme of royal blue leaves against a backdrop of soft azure blue and white on the ceilings and walls. Although the leaves give away to geometric designs, the continuity remains. A room honoring the workmen — carpenters, electricians, welders, and foremen — continues in this same color tones.

A limited amount of advertising is permitted. "Advertising is rigidly enforced," Mr. Backstrom explains. "There are no liquor or cigarette ads. Nothing harmful to health is allowed to be advertised in the subway."

St. as it is called, shares one thing in common with traffic companies all over the world — it is running at a deficit.

Only 50 percent of our expenses are paid by the tariffs," continues Mr. Backstrom. "The rest comes from the County of Stockholm. Because of the deficit and rising costs, it is not possible to have art in every station."

of cement covered the rock before the painting. The result is like being in a cave. Although the natural form was kept for its own sake, this construction feature saved one million krona in labor and material costs.

The selection of themes is left to the individual artists, with the only taboos being religious and political areas. This, however, was overlooked in the work of Siri Derkert, whose leftist leanings were reflected in her work, created on the walls of T-Centralen.

Although not all stations are decorated with themes of the surroundings, two, already completed, are: The Stadion Station located in an area where many foreigners live, is decorated with African and other foreign motifs, while Tekn. Hogskolan (Technical High School) takes on designs reflecting that area.

The Tunnelbana, which runs 160 kilometers north and south and 100 kilometers east and west, carries some 70 percent of the people working in Stockholm to their jobs.

"Our goal is to make it 75 percent," says Ingemar Backstrom, general manager of AB Storstockholms Lokaltrafik. "Because of traffic congestion, pollution, and fuel consumption, government officials and our management want people to use their cars less and our rails and buses more. We want people to use our system because it is safe, the trains run on time, and we have tried to make our underground stations as attractive as possible."

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If those stations where art work is not used, pictures are painted between two or three stations each year.

# French/German

## Europe : le parti communiste

par Joseph C. Harsch

Les Soviétiques ont piqué l'Europe de l'Est à leur profit dans le cadre de la doctrine Brejnev. Fort de cette dernière le Kremlin revendique le droit d'utiliser l'Armée rouge pour maintenir envers Moscou la loyauté des partis communistes dans chaque pays qui se trouve actuellement à l'intérieur du système soviétique.

Ceci n'est pas précisément un fait nouveau dans l'histoire. C'est une situation similaire dans son genre (avec des différences) à celle de la doctrine Monroe qui a été utilisée par intervalles depuis 1823 pour neutraliser l'intervention de puissances dans les Amériques et cela au désavantage des Etats-Unis.

Il y a simplement place pour arguer sur ces deux doctrines. Les historiens diffèrent d'opinion sur les intentions premières et la validité ultérieure de la doctrine Monroe. La doctrine Brejnev est plus précise. Cela ne semble laisser aucun doute que le Kremlin entend l'utiliser pour empêcher l'un ou l'autre de ses « protégés » de l'Europe de l'Est d'échapper à ses griffes. Mais les « protégés » de Moscou eux-mêmes contestent ses implications, comme le font également certains partis communistes dans d'autres parties du monde. Elle

violait la doctrine de Tito de « chemins séparés menant au socialisme ». La Roumanie maintient un esprit de rébellion généralement accepté face à la doctrine Brejnev. Les démocraties contestent la validité de la doctrine, mais respectent son application.

D'une façon générale, la situation est que la doctrine Monroe tient les intrus plus ou moins à l'écart des Amériques, tandis que la doctrine Brejnev exclut les capitalistes de tout ce qui se trouve à l'est de la ligne Stettin-Trieste. Cela ne se passe pas exactement de cette façon bien entendu. La Yougoslavie de Tito n'est pas soumise à la discipline de Moscou et Cuba de Castro n'est pas sous l'influence de Washington. Mais d'une façon générale les Amériques constituent une sphère d'influence américaine et la plupart du territoire sis entre l'Elbe et Vladivostok est dans la sphère d'influence soviétique.

Mais juste en ce moment les Soviétiques, qui sont fort jaloux de leur droit de contrôle sur l'Europe de l'Est, ne sont pas découragés de voir quelque doctrine identique tirer un avantage de la situation politique actuelle du Portugal.

Si l'Europe de l'Ouest devait respecter la doctrine Brejnev, il en résulterait un quiproquo de la part de Moscou et de son idéologie quant à la sécurité de l'Europe de l'Ouest. A un certain mo-

ment l'alliance de l'OTAN était suffisante dans ce but. Mais c'était à une époque où la seule menace visible de l'intégrité de l'Europe de l'Ouest était d'ordre militaire. Maintenant la menace est différente.

Au Portugal, le peuple a rejeté le communisme à une majorité écrasante. Cependant les communistes ont réussi à fermer l'imprimerie du journal porte-parole du parti socialiste qui était le grand vainqueur des élections portugaises.

Il est difficile de voir comment Washington pourrait mettre sur pied une doctrine Monroe pour l'Europe de l'Ouest. Dans le climat international actuel une telle mesure serait considérée par de nombreux Européens de l'Ouest comme une ingérence dans leurs affaires. L'initiative devrait venir des Européens de l'Ouest, Washington se tenant prêt à accorder son soutien si elle était sollicitée.

Mais Washington pourrait faire en sorte que les droits de l'Europe de l'Ouest soient respectés lors de futures négociations avec Moscou concernant la détente. Washington pourrait aussi tranquillement faire savoir que si Moscou encourage les communistes au Portugal (qui se trouvent à la solde de Moscou), elle doit alors s'attendre à ce

que les Etats-Unis ignorent la doctrine Brejnev.

De toute évidence, Washington ne va pas tenter de fonder une véritable révolution en Pologne, en Tchécoslovaquie ou en Hongrie — si grand que soit son désir de voir ces pays se libérer eux-mêmes du joug du Kremlin. Mais il y a des choses dépourvues de toute insinuation à la révolution qui pourraient être faites. John Foster Dulles avait l'habitude de dire : « Donnez leur de quoi s'occuper de leurs propres affaires. » Le CIA était l'instrument de cette sorte de travail. Il est possible que dans sa forme actuelle il ne puisse plus être utilisé dans de tels buts, mais bien perdu de son mystère. Néanmoins avec un peu d'imagination on pourrait faire quelque chose, suffisamment pour mettre Moscou dans ses petits souliers.

Après tout, l'Union soviétique est probablement la chose la plus instable en son genre. Elle est peuplée de minorités que la domination des Russes répugne.

Il y a des choses qui pourraient être faites. La meilleure de toutes serait l'équivalent de la doctrine Monroe : l'insinuation des Européens et qui devrait être reconnue par Moscou si l'Ouest devait respecter la doctrine Brejnev.

## Europa und die kommunistische Partei

Von Joseph C. Harsch

Die Sowjetunion hat unter der sogenannten Breschnjewdoktrin Osteuropa für sich abgesteckt. Diesem Grundsatz gemäß beansprucht der Krenl das Recht, die Rote Armee einzusetzen, wenn es darum geht, in jedem Land, das jetzt zum sowjetischen Block gehört, sicherzustellen, daß die kommunistischen Parteien Moskau die Treue wahren.

Dies ist nicht gerade neu in der Geschichte. Man könnte die Breschnjewdoktrin (mit gewissen Unterschieden) mit der Monroedoktrin vergleichen, auf die sich die Vereinigten Staaten seit 1823 hin und wieder berufen haben, um fremde Mächte daran zu hindern, sich zum Nachteil der Vereinigten Staaten in die Angelegenheiten der Länder Nord-, Mittel- und Südamerikas einzumischen.

Über beide Doktrinen ließe sich streiten. Die Historiker vertreten unterschiedliche Meinungen in bezug auf die ursprüngliche Absicht und die spätere Gültigkeit der Monroedoktrin. Die Breschnjewdoktrin ist genauer. Es besteht kaum Zweifel, der Krenl beabsichtigt, durch die einen Abfall seiner osteuropäischen Vasallen zu verhindern. Doch Moskau Vasallen selbst stellen ihre eigenliche Bedeutung

in Frage, ebenso wie es einige der kommunistischen Parteien in anderen Teilen der Welt tun. Die Breschnjewdoktrin widerspricht der Titodoktrin: «Getrennte Wege zum Sozialismus.» Rumänien lehnt sich vermutlich gegen die Breschnjewdoktrin auf. Die Demokratien erkennen der Doktrin ihre Gültigkeit ab, doch sie respektieren ihre Anwendung.

Ganz allgemein gesagt, verhält es sich so, daß die Monroedoktrin mehr oder weniger Außenstehende in den Ländern Nord-, Mittel- und Südamerikas fernhält, während die Breschnjewdoktrin Kapitalisten aus allen Gebieten ausschließt, die östlich der Linie Stettin-Trieste liegen. In der Praxis sieht das natürlich etwas anders aus: Titos Jugoslawien steht nicht unter Moskaus Vorherrschaft, und Castros Kuba läßt sich nicht von Washington beeinflussen. Doch allgemein gesagt, stehen die amerikanischen Staaten unter US-Einfluß, und beinahe das ganze Gebiet von der Elbe bis nach Vladivostok steht unter dem Einfluß der Sowjetunion.

Im Augenblick läßt sich aber die Sowjetunion, die um ihre Kontrolle über Osteuropa so ängstlich besorgt ist, durch keine ähnliche Doktrin davon abschrecken, die gegenwärtige politische Lage in Portugal auszunutzen.

Wenn Westeuropa die Breschnjewdoktrin anerkennen soll, dann sollte

Westeuropa ebenfalls das Recht auf Sicherheit vor Moskau und seiner Ideologie zuerkannt werden. Der Nordatlantikkart erfüllt einmal diesen Zweck. Doch das war zu einer Zeit, wo die einzige sichtbare Gefahr für die Integrität Westeuropas militärischer Art war. Die Gefahr liegt nun woanders.

In Portugal hat die Bevölkerung mit überwältigender Mehrheit den Kommunismus abgelehnt. Doch es gelang den Kommunisten, die Zeitung der sozialistischen Partei, die in den portugiesischen Wahlen als Sieger hervorsticht, stillzulegen.

Es ist schwer zu sehen, wie Washington eine Monroedoktrin für Westeuropa aufstellen könnte. In der internationalen Atmosphäre, die heute herrscht, würden viele Westeuropäer einen solchen Akt als Eingriff in ihre Angelegenheiten betrachten. Westeuropa sollte den ersten Schritt unternehmen, und Washington sollte bereit sein zu helfen, wenn es dazu aufgefordert wird.

Doch Washington könnte für seine weiteren Verhandlungen mit Moskau über die Entspannung die Achtung Westeuropas zur Bedingung machen. Ferner könnte Washington es durchsetzen lassen, daß Moskau, sollte es die Kommunisten in Portugal ermutigen (die von Moskau dirigiert werden), damit rechnen muß, daß die Vereinigten

Staaten die Breschnjewdoktrin ignorieren.

Natürlich wird Washington nicht versuchen, tatsächliche Revolutionen in Polen, der Tschechoslowakei oder Ungarn anzufachen, wie gern es sich sehen würde, daß diese Länder sich von dem Joch des Krenl freimachen. Doch auch abgesehen von Aufregung zur Revolution gibt es Dinge, die unterommen werden können. John Foster Dulles sprach immer wieder davon, ihnen in ihrem eigenen Land das Leben sauer zu machen. Der CIA war das Instrument für derartige Tätigkeiten. Vielleicht ist er in seiner jetzigen Form nicht mehr für solche Zwecke verwendbar. Sein Deckmantel wurde ihm praktisch abgenommen. Aber mit einem blichen Phantasma könnte noch immer etwas getan werden, das es Moskau unbehaglich zumute wird.

Letzten Endes befindet sich ja wohl die Sowjetunion mehr als jedes andere Land auf unsicherem Boden. Es gibt dort viele Minderheiten, die sich von der Herrschaft der Russen frei machen möchten.

Es gibt mehrere Möglichkeiten. Am besten wäre so etwas wie eine von Europäern aufgestellte Monroedoktrin, die von Moskau anerkannt werden müßte, wenn der Westen die Breschnjewdoktrin beachten soll.

## Europe and the Communist Party

By Joseph C. Harsch

The Soviets have staked out Eastern Europe

for themselves under the Brezhnev Doctrine. This doctrine claims the right of the Soviet Union to use the Red Army to maintain communist parties loyal to Moscow in every country now within the Soviet system.

This is not exactly novel in history. It is similar in kind (with differences) to the Monroe Doctrine which since 1823 has been used off and on to keep outside powers from interfering in the Americas to the disadvantage of the United States.

There is ample room for argument about both doctrines. Historians differ over the original intent and the subsequent validity of the Monroe Doctrine. The Brezhnev doctrine is more precise. There seems little room for doubt that the Kremlin intends to use it to prevent the escape from its clutches of any of their East European clients. But Moscow's clients themselves challenge its implications, and so do some of the communist parties in other parts of the world. It violates the Tito doctrine of "separate roads to socialism."

Romania stands in putative rebellion against the Brezhnev doctrine. The democracies deny

it in broad terms. The situation is that the Monroe Doctrine more or less keeps outsiders out of the Americas while the Brezhnev doctrine excludes capitalists from everything lying east of the Stettin-Trieste line. It doesn't work exactly like that, of course. Tito's Yugoslavia is outside Moscow's discipline and Castro's Cuba is outside Washington's influence. But broadly speaking the Americas are an America sphere of influence, and most territory between the Elbe and Vladivostok is in the Soviet sphere of influence.

But right now the Soviets, who are so jealous of their control over Eastern Europe, are not deterred by any similar doctrine from taking advantage of the present political state of affairs in Portugal.

If Western Europe is to respect the Brezhnev doctrine then there should be a quid pro quo for the security of Western Europe from Moscow and its ideology. At one time the

NATO alliance was sufficient to this purpose. But that was in the days when the only visible threat to the integrity of Western Europe was military. Now the threat is different.

In Portugal the people have overwhelmingly rejected communism. Yet Communists succeeded in closing down the newspaper Voice of the Socialist Party, which was the big winner in the Portuguese elections.

It is difficult to see how Washington could issue a Monroe Doctrine for Western Europe. In today's international climate many Western Europeans would regard any such act by Washington as interference in their affairs. The initiative should come from Western Europeans, with Washington ready to give support if requested.

But Washington could make respect for Western Europe part of any further negotiations with Moscow over détente. Also, Washington could quietly let it be known that if Moscow encourages the communists in Portugal (who are under Moscow discipline) then it must expect the United States to ignore the Brezhnev doctrine.

Obviously, Washington is not going to attempt to stir up any actual revolutions in Poland, Czechoslovakia, or Hungary — as it would like to see those countries liberate themselves from the Kremlin's yoke. But there are things short of incitement to revolution which could be done. John Foster Dulles used to talk about "giving them things to worry about in their own backyard." The CIA was the instrument for that kind of work. Perhaps in its present form it is no longer usable for such purposes. Its cover has pretty well been blown. But still, with a little imagination, something could be done, enough to make Moscow uncomfortable.

After all, the Soviet Union is probably the most unstable thing of its kind. It is full of minorities who resent the dominance of the Russians.

There are things that could be done. Best of all would be the equivalent of a Monroe Doctrine proclaimed by Europeans which would have to be recognized by Moscow if the West is to respect the Brezhnev doctrine.

# French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum  
(Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

## Ne sommes-nous pas tous un ?

En réalité, chacun est pour toujours un avec tout ce qui est bon, aimé, désiré.

Dieu, Esprit infini, Amour divin, est notre Père-Mère toujours présent, et nous sommes tous Ses enfants bien-aimés, demeurant en harmonie. Nous sommes des idées complètes, satisfaites, parfaites de la création spirituelle de l'Entendement divin.

Christ Jésus reconnaissait la paternité universelle de Dieu quand il recommanda à ses disciples : « N'appelez personne sur la terre votre père ; car un seul est votre Père, celui qui est dans les cieux. »

De même il exprimait une compréhension claire du sens spirituel de la famille quand il déclara : « Quiconque fait la volonté de mon Père qui est dans les cieux, celui-là est mon frère, et ma sœur, et ma mère. »

L'homme Jésus n'était pas limité dans son existence par un sens humain de famille ou de parenté. Il était divinement inspiré par le Christ, la Vérité, et entrevoyait les vérités éternelles de l'être. Il vit et comprit la filiation éternelle de l'homme avec Dieu et en guérissant et régénérant les hommes et les femmes, il prouva l'infinité et l'universalité de l'Amour divin.

Le Christ est présent dans notre existence aussi, apportant toujours la guérison, la joie et l'accomplissement. Nous pouvons tous acquiescer une compréhension plus élevée de Dieu et de notre véritable identité en tant qu'expression spirituelle de Dieu.

« Il faudrait bien comprendre que tous les hommes ont un Entendement, un Dieu et Père, une Vie, une Vérité et un Amour », écrit Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la Science Chrétienne.

Cet énoncé est une vérité fondamentale de l'être spirituel. Il s'agit et peut détruire les croyances à la limitation ou à la séparation. L'homme est compris spirituellement, il peut dépasser les craintes et les déceptions matérielles associées aux rôles sociaux, culturels, raciaux et sexuels généralement attribués aux individus. Il proclame l'égalité et l'originalité de chaque homme, femme et enfant en tous lieux.

L'homme existe en Dieu. Chacun de nous est uni à Lui et manifeste Sa nature. Dieu seul nous a conçus et nous exprimons Sa perfection immuable. Dans notre être véritable nous exprimons naturellement les qualités d'amour et d'intelligence.

Or que nous soyons nous pouvons reconnaître le fait que nous, ainsi que ceux qui nous entourent, sommes réellement les enfants de l'Entendement divin des idées spirituelles, impeccables et belles. Et parce que nous sommes tous des expressions de l'unique Entendement, il ne peut y avoir aucun manque de communication ou de compréhension qui puisse nous séparer les uns des autres.

Nous demeurons éternellement dans l'Amour divin, en sécurité, soutenus par la Vérité, gouvernés par le Principe divin. Chacun de nous est unique, exprimant individuellement des aspects différents de l'infinité de Dieu, mais nous sommes tous sensibles à Sa bonté et à la réflexion. Et parce que nous sommes tous un avec la Vérité et l'Amour divins, nous sommes tous un les uns avec les autres.

\* Matthieu 23:9 ; \* Matthieu 12:50 ; \* Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures, p. 467.

\* Christian Science, prononcez : kristi-ann sa-nse-ness

La traduction française de l'étude de la Science Chrétienne, Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec la table anglaise en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou la commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels  
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

## Sind wir nicht alle eins?

In Wirklichkeit ist jeder einzelne auf immer eins mit allem Guten, er wird geliebt und ist erwünscht.

Der unendliche Geist, die göttliche Liebe, ist unser immer gegenwärtiger Vater-Mutter Gott, und wir alle sind Seine geliebten Kinder, die in der Harmonie leben. Wir sind vollständige, zufriedene, vollkommene Ideen der geistigen Schöpfung des göttlichen Geistes.

Christus Jesus erkannte die universelle Vaterschaft Gottes an, als er seinen Nachfolgern dringend ans Herz legte: „Ihr sollt niemand euren Vater heißen auf Erden; denn einer ist euer Vater, der im Himmel ist.“

Desgleichen zeigte er ein klares Verständnis von dem geistigen Begriff von Familie, als er verkündete: „Wer den Willen tut meines Vaters im Himmel, der ist mein Bruder und meine Schwester und meine Mutter.“

Der Mensch Jesus war in seinem Leben nicht durch einen menschlichen Begriff von Familie oder Abstammung begrenzt. Er war von dem Christus, der Wahrheit, göttlich inspiriert und erleuchtete die ewigen Wahrheiten des Seins. Er sah und verstand, daß der Mensch ewiglich Gottes Kind ist, und als er die Menschen heilte und wiederherstellte, bewies er die Unendlichkeit und Universalität der göttlichen Liebe.

Der Christus ist auch in unserem Leben gegenwärtig, er bringt heute noch Heilung, Freude und Erfüllung. Wir alle können ein höheres Verständnis von Gott und unserer wahren Identität als der geistige Ausdruck Gottes gewinnen.

Man sollte es von Grund aus verstehen, daß alle Menschen ein Gemüt, einen Gott und Vater, ein Leben, eine Wahrheit und eine Liebe haben“, schreibt Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft.

Dieses Erklärungs ist eine fundamentale Wahrheit des geistigen Seins. Sie entzieht den Annahmen von Begrenzung oder Trennung jede Grundlage und kann sie zerstören. Wenn sie geistig verstanden wird, kann sie die Befürchtungen und Enttäuschungen beseitigen, die mit der allgemein akzeptierten sozialen, kulturellen, rassenspezifischen und sexuellen Rolle des einzelnen verbunden sind. Sie verkündet die Gleichheit und Ursprünglichkeit jedes Mannes, jeder Frau und jedes Kindes überall in der Welt.

Der Mensch existiert in Gott. Jeder von uns ist mit ihm vereint und tut Sein Wesen kund. Gott allein hat uns erzeugt und wir bringen Seine unwandelbare Vollkommenheit zum Ausdruck. In unserem wahren Sein drücken wir ganz natürlich die Eigenschaften der Liebe und Intelligenz aus.

Wo immer wir sind, können wir die

Tatsache anerkennen, daß wir und alle um uns her wahrhaft die Kinder des göttlichen Geistes sind — makellose, schöne, geistige Ideen. Und weil jeder einzelne von uns ein Ausdruck des einen Geistes ist, kann es weder mangelnde Verständigung noch mangelndes Verständnis geben, die uns voneinander trennen könnten.

Wir leben ewiglich in der göttlichen Liebe, sicher, von der Wahrheit erhalten, vom göttlichen Prinzip regiert. Jeder von uns ist einzigartig und drückt individuell unterschiedliche Aspekte der Unendlichkeit Gottes aus, doch wir alle sind für Seine Güte empfänglich und spiegeln sie wider.

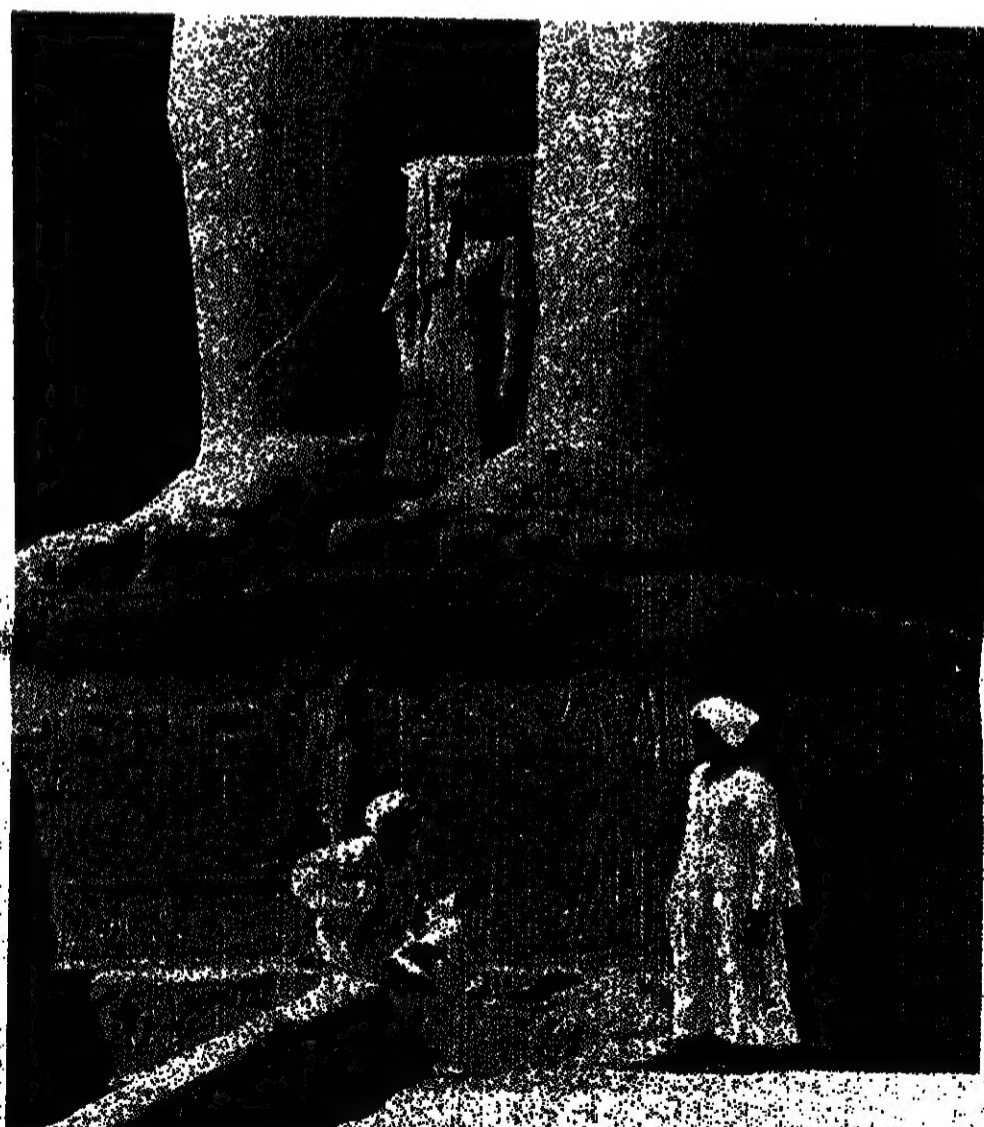
Und da wir alle mit der göttlichen Wahrheit und Liebe eins sind, sind wir alle eins miteinander.

\* Matthieu 23:9 ; \* Matthieu 12:50 ; \* Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift, S. 467.

\* Christian Science, sprich: kristi-ann sa-nse-ness

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Lesesalons der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Auskunft über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften, in deutscher Sprache erteilt auf Anfrage der Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.



By John E. Young, photo staff

At the feet of Ramses II, Abu Simbul, Egypt



"Bicycles" 1968; Tempera painting by Robert Vickrey

Courtesy of Marlboro Galleries, New York

## A boy's summer

Anyone, I suppose, would have said that our friendship — mine with Philip Waller — was rather an odd one; seeing that Philip was hefty and brave whereas I was small and quick to run from my enemies.

It all began one hot summer bedtime. Next door there lived (to my young mind), an old witch disguised as a nursemaid, who spoke sharply to little boys who made any loud noise. So I imagine my glee when suddenly the long twilight was split by the kind of sound an elephant makes at the charge.

I dashed to the window to see what would happen as a result of this witch-defying commotion. At a rear bedroom window of the house across the road, I saw the faint gleam of a burle.

After that I look to sitting frequently on our shed roof at the bottom of the garden, hoping for a sight of Philip, my new friend. One day he saw me there and came near. I dare say I talked too much, but he didn't seem to mind.

Another time he said if I wanted to talk again I could whistle like this, and he showed me; and so from one whistle to the next.

Then the day came when he threw me into a confusion of joy by asking if I'd like to go gathering berries with him in our bicycles. These last words made the joy short-lived. Wretchedly I had to confess that I did not own a bicycle; and, worse degradation still, I couldn't even ride one.

Philip found the patience and energy to run back and forth, bringing me a bicycle. I was forever saving my money for a bicycle. In reality, whatever it was, it was a bicycle. Philip found the patience and energy to run back and forth, bringing me a bicycle. I was forever saving my money for a bicycle. In reality, whatever it was, it was a bicycle.

but Philip found the patience and energy to run back and forth, bringing me a bicycle. I was forever saving my money for a bicycle. In reality, whatever it was, it was a bicycle.

## A debate

City realism

Village warmth

Dear Christopher,

Your little essay, "More than a Charm of Finches," is more than charming. But something in it alarms me: you seem to believe that there really is a town called Giggleswick.

This is a fallacy.

Your mistake is excusable: thousands of other people — residents, schoolchildren, visitors, cartographers — also imagine that Giggleswick exists. But belief does not validate a superstition, and Giggleswick is self-evidently impossible: no real town could conceivably bear such a name.

How can you credit such Giggleswickness? Have you been living too long in the country?

Perhaps you should return to the city: cities do not encourage wild imaginings.

### Can there really be a town called Giggleswick?

Better still, we city-dwellers are never fooled by rustic folklore — even though we possess many rustic amenities of our own.

Boston's misty silences, for example, are only enhanced, not destroyed, by the cooling of fire engines, the caroling of sirens, the surf-swish of passing cars, and the murmur of innumerable poets. When a large vehicle slumbers in a narrow street, other vehicles assemble behind it in a docile herd, musically howling. What could be more bucolic.

Near where I live, a pop record shop occasionally shares its treasures with the world. Then songs of yearning, generously amplified, work their benign magic. The paint wriggles off the zebra crossings and disappears down the nearest grating; parking meters flee whimpering up the street. What could be more convenient, for motorists?

Now contrast the city's pastoral festivity with the countryside's brutal turmoil: horns stamping about on lilies, dew crashing down on grass, bullfrogs honking, geese gagging, tractors raging over the sea. Bees, having caroused all day with flowers, lurch home at dusk, bawling their ribald drinking songs. And if peace miraculously erupts, it is quickly vanquished by the subterranean roar of earthworms charging through the wining earth. How can you stand it?

However, if you still prefer sheep-bleat to the birdlike twitter of police whistles, I shall try to understand. If, instead of diesel oil's understated fragrance, you cherish the pungent bouquet of cattle, then I shall respect your taste. Now, can I applaud your belief in impossibilities such as Giggleswick?

Perhaps you aren't aware that the ancient couplet:

Let women nagge, nowoman niggle,  
Withinne the belle Wick of Giggel

has been discredited by modern scholarship.

So let me humbly invite you to visit the city, and focus your rich attention on more authentic concerns: concrete, money, or the sweet bluish of red tape. Bring your genius to bear on the civilizing labors of sober, realistic, practical people — people such as, dear Chris,

Your urban fan,

Nell Miller

Dear Nell,

I have decided to answer your letter from London.

Having noted your advanced state of scepticism regarding the possible existence of Giggleswick, I have some doubts about correspondence posted to you from that place ever actually arriving: it would probably vanish en route, like invisible ink, under the alchemy of your disbelief.

Your city-environment has evidently swamped your sensibilities to such a degree that you can no longer envision any other kind of surroundings.

That's the trouble with cities: they fill the horizon. They have delusions, not only of grandeur, but of totality. They collect and

### A city is just a village that's overdone things!

hoard precious jewels of countryside, grasp green-belts, eat hamlets, swallow districts, like avaricious unsatisfied dragons.

And oh! Mr. Miller: how right you are: no town exists called Giggleswick. Only a city-man would make such a mistake. Giggleswick is a village.

Anyway I aren't fooled for a minute by your urban bally-hoo. You know that I know that we both know that any place be a state of mind, no less. Your kind of Boston-prattling ain't neither much nor nettle to the likes of me.

A state of mind, that's what a city is; and "Miller's Boston" is clearly nostalgic and yearning. Nostalgia for the good old days and yearning for pastoral pleasures. All that clever irony can't hide the fact that your city-state-of-mind is not contented.

What, after all, is a city? Just a village that's overdone things. Every city was a village once. But not all villages are potential cities. It is only those villages that are uncertain of their identity which may become cities; so, whereas a village can be perfectly satisfied, a city inevitably contains dissatisfaction.

And city-dwellers? Either they are trapped in the city or choose to live in it. While one can feel great sympathy for the first, the second invite either pity or admiration.

How do you stand it? I suppose London is one of the most thoroughgoing cities in the world — and yet what do people love about London? Not the rush hour or the traffic jams or the rates or the blocks-of-flats or the bus queues or the price of food. They love its history and its grandeur — its old buildings and its old streets — its old London, without treading on anything but grass.

All the things that recommend London as habitable, visitable, tourist-worthy are the things this city has borrowed from the countryside. Flowing water. Trees. Gardens. Just think of some of the names: Covent Garden. St. Giles-in-the-Fields. Shepherd's Bush. And what could be more reminiscent of, more longing for, the warmth of village life than such names as: Pardon's Green, Primrose Hill?

But it is the culture in cities that country people lack! I hear you cry.

Ah, but. Do you know which is the most popular painting in London? It's got to be Constable's "Haywain".

Yours with metropolitan rusticity,

Christopher Andrae

The Monitor's religious article

## Aren't we all one?

In reality, everyone is forever one with all good, loved, wanted.

God, infinite Spirit, divine Love, is our ever-present Father-Mother, and we are all His beloved children, dwelling in harmony. We are complete, satisfied, perfect ideas of divine Mind's spiritual creation.

Christ Jesus acknowledged the universal fatherhood of God when he urged his followers to "call no man your father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven."

Likewise, he expressed a clear understanding of the spiritual sense of family when he proclaimed that "whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother."

The man Jesus was not limited in his experience by a human sense of family or parentage. He was divinely inspired by the Christ, Truth, and glimpsed the eternal verities of being. He saw and understood man's eternal oneness with God and as he healed and regenerated men and women, he proved the infinitude and universality of divine Love.

The Christ is present in our experience, too, still bringing healing, joy, and fulfillment. We all can gain a higher understanding of God and our true identity as the spiritual expression of God.

"It should be thoroughly understood that all men have one Mind, one God and Father, one Life, Truth, and Love," writes Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science.

This statement is a fundamental truth of spiritual being. It undermines and can destroy beliefs of limitation or separation. When spiritually understood, it can eradicate the fears and disappointments associated with the generally accepted social,

cultural, racial, and sexual roles of individuals. It proclaims the equality and originality of every man, woman, and child everywhere.

Man exists in God. Each of us is united with Him and manifests His nature. God alone has conceived us, and we express His unchanging perfection. In our true being we naturally express the qualities of love and intelligence.

Wherever we are we can acknowledge the fact that we and those around us are truly the children of divine Mind — flawless, beautiful, spiritual ideas. And because we are all expressions of the one Mind, there can be no lack of communication or understanding to separate us from each other.

We eternally abide in divine Love, secure, sustained by Truth, governed by divine Principle. Each of us is unique, individually expressing different aspects of the infinitude of God, but we are all responsive to and reflect His goodness. And because we are all one with divine Truth and Love, we are all one with each other.

\*Matthew 23:9; \*\*Matthew 12:50; †Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 487.

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### Inch worm—dangling

Across the strands of dew,  
The inch worm lifts his bridge;  
He measures oak and yew  
And clover field and hedge—  
Then lifts himself apace  
And teters on the edge.

He estimates the sheaf,  
The fruit buds on the limb;  
Then scales a plantain leaf  
And wavers on the rim.

Cartographer of earth,  
He maps with sober care  
The summers of the grass,  
The dangers of the air—  
And softly dangles there.

Louise McNeill

### To follow after

After the voices, the laughter,  
discussion and reasoning loudly together,  
comes now what's the hum of sea music  
softly sounds  
and overhead the tinkling  
of a dry twig twining  
unnoticed in gentle agreement.  
And in the pause between a distant  
wave and wave  
lift the listening ear  
to the land where the sound of the sea went.

The beat of a bird flying  
is voice enough and company  
and silent laughter, innocent, merry,  
and grave.

Burnham Eaton

# OPINION

Melvin Maddocks

## Don't let them throw sand in your face

Have you had the feeling lately that you're just not holding your own? Are people — even little people — pushing in front of you at check-out counters? Are other cars — even Beetles — beating you to the intersection at the Great Crossroads of life? Are complete strangers occupying your space while — as we all know — space is running out?

Stop hanging to the cliff edges of your existence, like the last reel of "Perils of Pauline." A rope is being lowered to you, you poor passive clod, and it is called "assertiveness-training."

What is assertiveness-training? One of the gurus of the new gospel, Janice La Rouché, has been appearing on television to deliver The Message. There are, it seems, two wrong things to be: "compliant" (you over the cliff); and "aggressive" (you on top pushing him or

her down there). "Assertive" is the happy state of in-between: the Golden Mean.

Miss La Rouché, who claims that she used to be compliant — psychically speaking, a 97-pound weakling, getting sand scuffed in her face — is now a charming but formidable Charles Atlas. When last seen she was appearing — confident as could be — on the A.M. America Show, detailing the latest episodes in her ongoing soap opera of assertiveness ("As the Worm Turns?").

"I was in this bank," she recalled. "In a great hurry, as I always am. A man began to slide in front of me. I said to him, 'I believe you just came in. The end of the line is (gesture) over there.' He said, 'Gee, you must be in a hurry.' I was, but that wasn't the point. I said (terrifying smile): 'The end of the line is over there.'"

Score one for La Rouché.

Other equally devastating triumphs followed. The steak assertively sent back to the kitchen. Too rare. Or was it too well done?

Then there was the cab driver whom Miss La Rouché reduced from aggressiveness to abject compliance by asserting: "Would you turn your radio down?"

Miss La Rouché closed her act by engaging in a few assertiveness role-playing contests with her TV host, confiding to the audience: "I'm telling myself that he's a lead-person, and I don't want to be rude. But . . ."

The result: One totaled MC.

"If you don't assert, you'll never get what you want,"

Miss La Rouché summed up. "You'll go through life, saying: 'I wish I had said that. . . I wish I had spoken up.'"

Meanwhile, another assertiveness expert, Dr. Herbert Fensterheim, co-author of "Don't Say Yes When You Want to Say No," has announced he will deliver a lecture to the Overseas Press Club in New York on the subject: "How to Be a More Assertive Newswoman."

Are the asserters going too far? Certainly teaching either newsmen or New York's assertiveness seems about as necessary as pushing a runaway Mack truck (with no brakes) downhill.

All right. One sees what Miss La Rouché and Dr. Fensterheim are getting at. One could hardly miss, could one? But what a sad, tight-smiling, humorless business this is — Standing Up for Your Rights, a self-respect depended on Not Letting Anybody Go Away With Anything.

If only those assertiveness-trainees with their tape-recorded rehearsals (recommended by both Miss La Rouché and Dr. Fensterheim) were asserting more than self — pushy Me as opposed to all the pushy Yous.

Almost nothing can stop a cliché whose time has come. The notion that the squeaking wheel gets the grease has replaced the inspiration that the meek will inherit the earth. The question that remains is this: Given a world of nothing but squeaking wheels — and we may be getting there — would the meek really want to inherit it?

## Vietnam: the terrible price of ignorance

By John K. Fairbank

How could we spend 80,000 lives and \$150 billion in a country almost exactly on the opposite side of the earth about which we had never heard before 1945? Perhaps this extreme remoteness of Vietnam is part of the explanation. Being almost completely ignorant about it, we could easily fill our minds with many fantasies. The tragedy begins with this factor of ignorance.

Our self-image in Vietnam was derived from extra-Vietnamese sources, not from any role that we understood for ourselves on the local scene. Judging by pronouncements of our statesmen, our troops were in Saigon and other strange places to defeat "communist aggression" coming from a North Vietnam which we had never seen.

Our role in defending the South after 1955 was first seen as an equivalent of our defense of South Korea 15 years before. It was also aimed at forestalling a southward expansion of Chinese communism (which the Chinese evidently never had in mind).

To say that we lacked an image of our role in South Vietnamese society is another way of saying that we were basically willing to use Vietnam for our own strategic purposes. To defend an allied regime is only a very pale expression for what happens when half a

million American troops bring guns that bombard rural areas and bring PXs that corrupt our urban auxiliaries. The observation that we were greatly accelerating the urbanization of Vietnam as millions of refugees fled to the cities was true enough, but not necessarily to our credit or to the benefit of the South Vietnamese.

In short, our war effort brought not only physical destruction but a social disaster. Like the Japanese in their eight-year war in China in the 1930s and '40s, we thoroughly softened up the old society and in fact probably brought it into a suspension from which Hanoi can now precipitate a new social order with greater ease than would otherwise have been the case.

The anticommunist generals whom we supported in most cases had been part of the French colonial forces that had already been defeated by the native Viet Minh in 1954. The patriots who we hoped would form a strong South Vietnamese anticommunist regime were for the most part unconnected with the grass roots where popular mobilization can be achieved and political power developed. In other words, we picked up the remnants of the French disaster and tried to use them to shape an American success. The outcome was a foregone conclusion.

One chief factor that made this possible was the absence in our minds of an historical understanding of the modern Vietnamese revolution. By degrees, when it was too late, we began to realize that it was a revolution inspired by the sentiment of nationalism while clothed in the ideology of communism as applied to Vietnam's needs. Of all the early anti-French revolutionary movements, the Vietnamese Communist Party had shown the highest survival capacity, partly because of its secret methods and international contacts. By 1945 the movement led by Ho Chi Minh and its United Front, the Viet Minh, had inherited the leadership of a national revolution. A few studies of this development were available, but we did not heed them. The result was that in the name of being anticommunist, vague though that term had become by 1965, we embarked on an antiformalist effort.

This kind of error, and there were many others like it, was facilitated by our lack of background contact with the Vietnamese people. In Japan we had from an earlier generation many liberal friends through whom we understood the rise of Japanese militarism. In China we had a long background of many personal contacts not only

with the many excellent people in the Nationalist regime, but also with the Communists. Yenan.

By the late 1940s we knew that there was revolution in China and our national reputation about the merits of the Chinese Communists and the Nationalist government, was generally based on knowledge as fragmentary.

Yet our historical sense was so weak that in looking back at the "fall of China" communism, we did not think it the loss of the major fact that we had learned enough about the Chinese civil war to have the good sense to stay out of it. Instead of this obvious positive fact, the minds of our leaders were filled with the fear that a manufactured "loss of Vietnam" could be used in American politics as the "loss of China" had been used. This subjective consideration about the fates of candidates in American politics is an index to the myopia of the American public mind concerning our East Asian experience.

Professor Fairbank is chairman of the Council on East Asian Studies at Harvard. These excerpts are from an article by him in the June Newsletter of the Harvard Graduate Society for Advanced Study and Research.

## Japan's sun still rising

By Robert R. Bowie

The Japanese polity may be fragile (as many say), but it appears to have weathered the turbulence and absorbed the strains of the last four years remarkably well. Indeed, in the

to 14 percent, with the prospect of 9 percent next year. External payments are again in balance. In 1975, growth is expected to reach 4 percent or so, expanding jobs and payrolls.

By underwriting Japan's dependence on the U.S. economy, they have taken more responsibility for the international economic order.

As one step, they have been diversifying their markets, reducing the share of exports to the U.S. from over 30 percent to 20 percent by expanding exports to Western Europe, the Middle East, and the communist world. But more significantly Japan is now actively cooperating with the U.S. and Western Europe in the reshaping and operation of the global system for trade, money, investment, food, energy, and other problems.

The impact of these years has also prompted Japan to clarify and define its own view on security and its role in the Asian region. It has been normalizing relations with China and the Soviet Union, and expanding trade with them while keeping "equidistant" from both and refusing to be drawn into taking sides in their conflict.

Yet Japan relies more explicitly than ever on U.S. support for its security. The debacle in Southeast Asia did not seem to raise serious doubts about the U.S. commitment to Japan. The Japanese feel more concern, however, about the possibility of a U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, which might lead to a U.S. withdrawal from Japan.

For the longer term, Japan has a difficult political problem at home. In the future, it will have to reorient its economic policy to give higher priority to the quality of life, housing, pollution, recreation, instead of growth for its own sake. A demand already emerging before the present crisis. Now, with a projected growth rate of 3 or 4 percent for the future, this reshaping of priorities will entail greater strains and a more difficult task.

Will Japan's political system be up to making the necessary choices and carrying them out? It is by no means sure. The Liberal Democratic Party, which has governed for 30 years, has been steadily losing strength. It is

now supported by less than a majority of the voters, although it holds a majority in the Diet and about half of the upper house. The Liberal Party is composed of the party's competitive, and the smaller ones. Moreover, Mr. Tanaka, of the Liberal Party, is the main body of the party, and it is uncertain how long he will be able to lead it.

The current Diet, for example, is divided on the issue of improving the political system and the monopoly laws. Yet the opposition parties are too divided to offer an alternative. The political system is in a state of flux, and the political system is in a state of flux.

On balance, however, the effects of the recent years seem to me beneficial. Japan is growing more aware of the need for a more active role in Asia and in the global system, and for closer cooperation with Western Europe, as well as the United States, for these purposes is a long gain for international order.

Dr. Bowie is a member of the Harvard Council for International Affairs and of the Harvard faculty.

# COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

## Britons and Americans still stand together

The two-to-one vote which keeps Britain inside the European Common Market is a disappointment to many different types of people in Britain, and to some in the United States.

I am not concerned here with those who opposed the outcome because they are Marxists or Stalinists and hence were either consciously or unconsciously serving the Kremlin. Nor am I concerned with those of the right wing of the Conservative Party whose attitude was conditioned by ancient British xenophobia.

But I am deeply concerned about a sincere group which has long dreamed of a day when Britain and America would merge their interests and activities beyond anything that happened during World War II when the two peoples did, in Winston Churchill's words, "get a little bit mixed up together."

Friendly and easy collaboration between the two countries dates from the turn of the century when British difficulties in South Africa and American difficulties in the Philippines made them aware of interests in common and none in serious conflict. The partnership formed at that time survives in an organization in London which still meets regularly. It is called "The Ends of the Earth

Club." It gives dinners at which speakers recall past associations between the two countries and urge their continuation.

This collaboration reached a higher level in World War I and its highest point to date in World War II. The Anglo-American high command which managed victory on the Western front in Europe in 1945 was the most successful experiment in military cooperation since the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene brought their respective British and Austrian armies together in central Europe to win the Battle of Blenheim. There was friction at General Eisenhower's headquarters, yes, but he always managed to keep it under effective control.

Winston Churchill hoped that this close partnership of war days would continue after the war. To some extent it did. The rosy afterglow still permits a special case in relations between British and American diplomats. It extends into military and academic fields.

Those who shared the Churchillian hope for closer and more permanent Anglo-American ties after the war have been disappointed. The two countries have not always reconciled their battle plans. The British sent their armies into

Suez in 1956 in defiance of Washington wishes. The Americans were unable to secure British military support in Vietnam. Of late, American policy in the Middle East has not been approved or supported in London.

Those already disappointed by several divergencies of London and Washington policies have tended to assume that their hopes for closer Anglo-American ties were incompatible with British membership in the Common Market. Many of them have believed that the decision taken in Britain to stay in the Common Market would forever doom their preference for the Anglo-American relationship.

In the hope of being of some comfort to such people I would like to submit that the two are in fact compatible, not incompatible, and that what has happened will reopen rather than close the door for a revival of the closer Anglo-American ties which they desire.

Those ties have been frayed by policy conflicts (as noted above), but even more by Britain's lagging economy. A partnership works well between equals. There has been decreasing equality of late between America and Britain. That equality could not now be

restored by forming a political and economic union of the United States, Canada, and Britain. Britain would be swallowed up and its essential identity smothered in such a union. Canada is passing through a vigorous independence mood.

No one can be sure of the result of Britain's decisive commitment to the European Common Market. But it could be a device which helps Britain pull itself out of its current economic problems. If it does, then Britain could reemerge as the vigorous and creative leader of the European community. And by that road might come a new equality between Americans and West Europeans, and the British peoples.

It is just a matter of straight reporting to say that Britain's best friends in Washington applaud the outcome of the referendum. They do so because they believe that it will make Britain a more valuable friend and a more likely future partner. Whether it will remain to be seen. But faith in Britain's future has been in short supply in Washington for some time. It has been revived by this action which is almost universally regarded in Washington as the best news out of Britain since World War II.

## Where have all the hippies gone?

By August Heckscher

He is going off on a long journey, this young man who may be watched to see what is happening to the generation that a few years back was setting new fashion in dress, in life-styles, in moral and political perceptions.

I am not aware whether sociologists have learned what became of the so-called hippies. We know that they disappeared and that the wave of young people who followed them were altogether of a different mind. An informal manner, a longish cut of hair, an open style of relationships — these remain among today's young even as they abjure politics and withdraw in the colleges to scramble for high grades. But those who a few years ago created the new pattern and sang the new songs — what has become of them?

Some, no doubt, have simply retreated into the work-a-day world. The respectable young businessman who rode beside me on

the bus this morning, this reader of the Wall Street Journal, was perhaps in the sixties striking anger and terror into the hearts of college administrators, or demonstrating on the Sheep Meadow in Central Park. The pull of the establishment is strong; a protective coloration is often hard to resist. Nevertheless, there will be others, I suspect, who like my young friend are at this stage setting forth upon their own long journeys.

He has followed, in the years between, a way of life of his own making. Work has not seemed the end of existence, but a recurrent necessity, not altogether unpleasant yet certainly not something to pursue for its own sake. He has taught school, given desultory expression to his artistic talents, found intermittent satisfaction in an outdoor job which brought him into daily contact with people and with the changing seasons. But mostly living itself has seemed to him a kind

of work; the forming of friendships has seemed the major art.

One thinks of him in his own place, one of those run-down but expensive lofts which exist unexpectedly in city neighborhoods — the bane of urban bureaucrats who want to condemn them as unsafe but the natural haunt of poets and free spirits.

Here he has established not only his own commonwealth, but rules it by his own economic laws. Money he puts into small piles. When these are numerous enough he finds reasons to escape his current job and to meditate for a while or go off on a trip. When the piles decline in number, he gets busy again.

Wanting somewhat to ease a life necessarily deprived of many treats and luxuries, his family at Christmas gave him a check of several hundred dollars. He thanked them warmly, and later revealed he had given that

exact sum to his church. One could sympathize with the family's exasperation, yet I think I understood the principle at work. To be poor and to feel poor must be one of the most wretched of human conditions. But to be poor and to feel rich — to be poor and still be able largely to share — that must be close to a state of beatitude.

It isn't an easy time for the young to be traveling. Everything is expensive and the low estate of the dollar is a double affliction. In lands that once seemed made for the wanderer and searcher, from the South Seas to the Himalayas, the footloose young are regarded as suspect. To be an American, moreover, is no longer to be assured of an easy popularity. Yet I suspect our traveler will find his way, at sea or on land. And perhaps one day, hopefully not too far off, those who now watch him wistfully as he departs will learn what he was looking for, and what he found.

Charles W. Yost

## Dictatorships are making Uncle Sam uneasy

During the heat of the cold war, embattled United States administrations came to feel that any enemy of communism was a friend of the United States and deserving of its support. After a decade or so the U.S. found itself embracing not only the democracies of Western Europe and Japan but many regimes in the world which were in many ways authoritarian, and in some cases quite ruthlessly oppressive.

Throughout this process America spoke of the "defense of the free world" and often behaved as though freedom had only one enemy, communism. At times, it is true, the U.S. tried to persuade its authoritarian allies that a little more liberalism would really pay both in reassuring American opinion and in strengthening their own domestic positions; that a touch of land reform would win over the peasants; that diluting a hard-line government with a few tame "centrists" would brighten its image.

The U.S. never got very far with these exercises in public sanitation. Its clients — Chiang in China, Diem and Thieu in Vietnam, Syngman Rhee and Park in Korea, Ayub and Yahya Khan in Pakistan, generals in Thailand and colonels in Greece — soon developed an effective technique for dealing with America. They would make some token concessions,

which in their implementation would be watered down to meaningless. But if the U.S. proposed reforms which might cut close to the bone, they replied blandly that such dangerous steps would encourage communists and "neutralists" and risk the stability of the regime. If the U.S. still pressed, they would threaten to turn to the Soviet Union or Communist China.

At the time, it is true, the U.S. was down the Soviet Union or Communist China, America was a paper tiger before these imperturbable autocrats. Indeed some American ambassadors, who took too literally their instructions and pressed too hard, found it was they and not their prestigious charges from under whom Washington pulled the rug.

Now that the cold war has considerably abated, now that the U.S. is involuntarily out of Vietnam and now that America is reassessing its foreign policies, it is not time to consider tilting toward democracy?

This does not mean that the U.S. can or should try to impose democracy throughout the world, or even make the world "safe for democracy" as Woodrow Wilson suggested. Many countries, a considerable majority, are not prepared to practice democracy in the American sense and will not be for many years.

What this analysis suggests is a twofold reorientation of policy. First is that the U.S.

no longer need embrace or substantially support authoritarian regimes, simply because they are anticommunist and occupy strategic real estate.

Second is that the U.S. could indeed play a more active role in supporting overtly and not covertly democratic movements and regimes.

The most immediate case in point is certainly the Iberian peninsula. The political future of Portugal hangs in the balance. Despite the sweeping victory of the Center in the recent elections, the ultimate decision no doubt rests with the military group which actually rules.

One would have thought the most useful posture of allies toward them would be quiet but tangible evidence of political and economic support. Yet what they seem chiefly to receive from the United States are public threats of exclusion from NATO if they misbehave.

On the other hand, in Spain President Ford, motivated no doubt by a desire to retain bases there, reemphasizes America's public embrace of a notorious dictatorship just when it may be on the point of disappearing. Other sensitive and unstable points in the

Mediterranean are Italy, Greece, and Turkey, each democratic in its own way but each in transition to an uncertain destination. Here again American fulminations, by either administration or Congress, will not be helpful, but patient understanding and discreet support may be.

Other significant signals, having no doubt a considerable impact throughout Africa and the "third world," will be displayed by America's posture toward the new states of Mozambique and Angola, as compared with its posture toward the oppressive minority governments of Rhodesia and South Africa. Which way will the U.S. tilt?

Examples could be multiplied, but the question is whether, in its bicentennial year, America will choose to refurbish its faded democratic image; or happen to think it not only would be right but would pay.

The author of this article writes from a background of 40 years as a United States diplomat.

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